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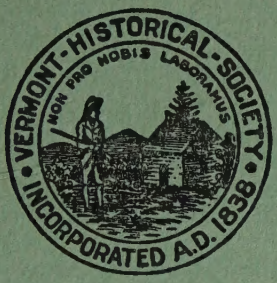
PROCEEDINGS of the VERMONT *Historical Society*



John Clark's Journal (1824–1842)
Early Vermont Printers and Printing
Architecture and History: "Preservationism" and "Functionalism" in Vermont
A Vermont Bookshelf
Postscript

PUBLISHED BY THE SOCIETY

DECEMBER

1942

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Proceedings

of the

VERMONT

Historical Society

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The next issue of the *Proceedings* will be edited by Mr. Earle Williams Newton, the librarian-curator of the Society. The issue will carry the usual history of the activities of the Society for the past year which has been one of real achievement.

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Proceedings of the
Vermont Historical Society

1942

NEW SERIES DECEMBER VOL. X NO. 4

JOHN CLARK'S JOURNAL (1824–1842)

Edited by

ARTHUR WALLACE PEACH

We have grown a bit weary in these tumultuous days of listening to addresses and reading articles in which modern students of pioneer days seek to account for the pioneer's courage. Strained through a century, the conceptions of that courage and all its allied qualities bear the mark of distance and time. So we have turned to the journal of John Clark for firsthand evidence. The journal is one of the most moving we have ever read as a human document; but it is more than that, more than a story of pioneer life a century ago. What it is, we will let our readers discover and interpret for themselves. John Clark was born in 1745, and the complete journal carries the dates, April 13, 1774 to June 24, 1842. We are printing only the section that begins with January 1, 1824. A prolonged religious meditation has been eliminated in the interest of conservation of space; other editorial changes are minor and designed to facilitate the reading of the old story. Editor.

Hartford, Windsor County, State Vermont

JANUARY 1st 1824. Now after a lapse of more than forty-five years since writing a word in these sheets I think proper to record some events of my life which I shall soon forget if Life should be continued a little longer which I wish to remember while I live. My Life

already protracted to nearly Seventy-Nine years, I now feel the decays of Nature & my experience joins the Testimony of inspiration that this is a period of labour and sorrow: I am convinced that sin and sorrow are inseparable companions. From the year 1778 to the present has been a series of anxious cares of almost insurmountable difficulties. Prosperity & Adversity set the one over against the other: when I contemplate on all the way the Lord my God hath brought me I must say he hath been with me in six troubles & in seven hath not forsaken me: he doth all things well.

The events in a retrospective view I shall first mention the settlement of the Rev. L. Parsons in the Ministry in Chatham Easthampton [*Connecticut. Ed.*] Parish 1779. Shall I indulge the folly to say I could not agree with a majority for his Ordination? He having an Arminian education exploded Calvinism as much as I then did and now do Arminianism. But concealed from some & applauded by others he gained the election & occupied the office of pastor declaring the divine right of Infant baptism promiscuously without parent or dedicator. Under his Ministry I sat with little edification & in continual difference of sentiment. In 1780, June 26, pious beloved Mother Died after months of excruciating pain & distress; her pious counsels and example still remain with me by which she being dead yet speaketh: her last words while reason remaind were: *I think I know in whom I have believed & that he is able and will keep that which I have committed to him.* The 18th February 1779 my second Daughter was born & dedicated to God in baptism; prayd that I and my family may belong to the Household of God.

About this time by reason of the war I began to be in trouble by heavy taxes and debts which I could not pay with Continental Money bills. The scarcity of provision distressed many and myself; among the rest farmers who usually had plenty to spare were forced to go distance beyond the county of Hartford to buy their breadcorn; and the scarcity of current money made it very difficult for me to procure provision. Neither my farm nor trade nor both together were adequate to procure a comfortable subsistance, especially in the years 1783 and 1784 when 12 acres of English grain harvested on my farm were not sufficient to bread my family 6 months. Under these circumstances I thought of removing to some other parts to seek better quarters. But before I proceed further I must retrograde by looking to 1782. In May I took a Journey to Vermont to view the country and found the inhabitants worse pinched than in the place of my Nativity — concluded this is no place

for me. In my town I frequently heard families say they had no bread and expected none till harvest. I saw numbers of poor indigents returning home with their scanty pittance without money to support themselves or horse, beging their entertainment by the way. This moved my pitty & reproved my impatience Under Circumstances much better than theirs.

In January 1784 I took a second Journey to Vermont on the West side of the green Mountain as far as Clarendon, meeting with some friends who encouraged me to come and settle among them with a promise of support. And having sold off all the Stock on my farm except one cow & one horse to pay debts & Taxes and to procure some provision for my family without selling my farm or paying all my debts, I concluded to move to Vermont, and on the 27th of April 1784 I started for Vermont with two apprintices on foot, with one horse loaded with Necessaries, leaving my family consisting of Wife and six children, the youngest a daughter whose birth I ought to have mentioned before was born Aug. 13th: 1783.

I arrived at Clarendon May 5th 1784. Here I Laboured hard through the summer, struggling with the same difficulty I left at home — the scarcity of provision, but having full imployment for myself and apprintices; and my business being in great demand while anything was to be had, I could obtain it. Sometimes recieving money enabled me to go a distance to buy, which being obliged to do I went a Tour across the green mountain into N. Hampshire and bought as much Wheat flour as my horse could carry viz 5 bushels & 1 peck. This well supplyd me and boys until Harvest, and I wished my family could participate with me in this good bread instead of the scanty portion of Rye which they have. I was here connected with a heterogeneous ways of people from all parts lately relieved from the incurtions of open Enemies and the more distressing apprehensions from intestine incendaries, but peace being established and animosities hopefully subsiding excited hopes of better times; but I was still doubtful whether this could be a peaceful or profitable Religious retreat for me and my family. Some good Christians like here & there a berry in the uppermost boughs, but looking round must conclude vice predominant and irreligion almost epidemical, Sabbath disregarded, profanity, debauchery, drunkenness, quareling by words and blows, & parting with broken heads and bloody noses. The Apostles caution seemed to apply: *if ye bite and devour one another, take heed least ye be destroyed one of another.* These gloomy appearances nearly discouraged me. I looked round in other places but

could not obtain where I chose and deferred any purchace for sometime.

Some time in July I purchased fifty acres of Land with a Log house & some improvements for $125 lawful money payable in my line of business. In October following I returned home to visit my family, and ordering matters to sell off those articles of household goods we could not carry, get what clothing we could, proposing to return the begining of next year with teams to move my family. I return^{d} to Clarendon and made as rappid preparation as possible for the expedition. In Feb 1785 I moved my family, arrived at Clarendon Feb 21st, having clothing sufficient for three years without making any new. The chief difficulty attening us this year was obtaining a Cow for my family which I could not until near Autum.

I usually attended publick Worship at Wallingford where I found many Christian friends until the two towns formed a Subscription Society to hire preaching to be attended alternately half the time in each Town, but this faild after this year as few adhered to the Gospel and forsook not the Assembling themselvs together but no Chh formd nor ordinances Administred. In my daily intercourse among men I found evidence enough of the desperate deceitfulness & wickedness of the Human Heart by looking within myself and round about on others in their daily walk and conversation; but these examples did not influence me to follow a multitude to do evil and if I am any better than the worst who maketh me to differ. Sometime in Feb 1786 the aforesaid Society sent me to Dartmouth Colledge to obtain a candidate for the Minstry but could obtain none except a minister who had been settled and dismissed. I applied to the President and professor of Divinity in Colledge to know his Charracter and recommendation. They said he was a low preacher and could not recommend him; so I returnd home & reported to the Society & we continued some time without preaching.

I Now come to an important Epoch in my life which I and my oldest Children might Remember without Writing, but which my younger Children may read with advantage being reminded of the Uncertainty of all Sublunary enjoyments. On the 22nd of Feb, 1786 near midnight my House was discovered to be on fire by my eldest, then Instantly awaking in season for us to escape. Our property, our plentiful Supply of clothing, & provision upwards 100 Bushels of grain, all our household furniture except upper beds & bed clothes & Desk consumed: taking as it were wings of fire & flying away as an Eagle towards Heaven. We now had to grapple with the hard hand of poverty — no house, no

provision, but little clothing left us; the Mother and children escaping to the shop & leaving shoes stockins and some other clothes behind, they were now destitute. And the best habitation we could obtain was a miserable hut covered with barks, no upper floor, under floor pieces of Split boards unsafe to walk on, no glass window no chimney; but suddenly fixing as well as we could, we put our scanty pittance that remaind into this hut: the family being turnd out in a sour windy cold night generally took cold and were sick. We spread our beds on this bad floor, the sick lay on them. Two or three of us just able to keep about tended them three weeks successively. Visited by the Doctor almost every day. I wish to speak kindly of the people who dealt kindly by me, but truly I recieved but little compared with what is commonly bestowed in such cases. Now Just in the close of the war when they were greatly harassed by the enemy & plundred they had scarcely sustenance for themselves and perhaps their sensibilities blunted by experencing so much Suffering & seeing so many Sufferers. My family recovered health & experience taught me how much a poor Dwelling was better than none.

In the spring by the assistance of some Neibours I erected a more convenient Dwelling on my own land. On the Morning after my house burnt I had an opportunity to send a letter to my Father which he recieved, carried it on the Sabbath to Meeting shewing it to some of my friends. They advised to have it read to the Congregation at the close of the exercise which was done, to the people at my pittiable case. Some blamed me for going away, saying a man so well accomodated and so well beloved & esteemed ought to have been contented, but all pittied me & collected a horse load of Clothing and sent to me which was indeed a timely relief. Thus I had to sing of Mercies and of Judgments. My fatiegues were great and often in my weary moments, I enquired if my attachments to this world had not been too strong, and I now felt chastised on that account, found great cause for correction on that and other accounts, and Resolv^{d} to put off the old Man with his deeds and to put on the new. Man which after God is created in Righteousness and true Holiness: and made this the subject of prayers for the accomplishment.

As the chief design of these writings is to keep in mind the exercises of my mind in Religion, I have made Narritives Short & applications & reflections more lengthy. From the time I first left the place of my Nativity I endeavored to maintain a sense of my dependance on God and recieve my lot with meekness & resignation in prosperity or adversity as

he should order it out to me. I felt not sufficient for these things, but made it the subject of my prayers that his grace might be sufficient for me. I now was tried, and I think I found comfort in resignation to his providential dealings and the natural corruption of my Heart, not predominate to produce fretfulness against the Lord or to charge God foolishly. I saw no way of safety but to commit all to him since all things work together for good to them that love God, to them who are the called according to his purpose. This led me to examine am I heir to this promise evinced by love to God and thus called effectually by his grace? Blessed be God I may hope in his mercy.

Now to return to Ministerial affairs: Some time after I returnd from seeking a Candidate, some influential Character in the Society Wrote to a low preacher named H. . . d to come and preach to Society which he did, & his performances were recieved by some with applause while others doubted his Orthodoxy. He preached cheifly through the summer, then went to preach at Pitsford, moved his family there, & preach^{d} as long as he could get hearers or reward. Then Absconded & ran off to Canada with another Mans Wife. This event clear^{d} me from the blame cast upon me by some for neglecting to employing him in the first instance. I found very little instruction or edification from his preaching. I think it did no good. I fear the state of this people is as our Saviour describes, having Eyes see not, having ears hear not, neither understand with their heart nor be converted nor healed. I pitty and pray for them: salvation is from God only. The Society continued me as a committee to procure preaching. I wrote to the president of Yale Colledge Conn. for a Candidate for the Ministry. He sent Rev Payson Williston who preached to us Several months and took his leave. He was prudent in matters & faithful in his calling.

June 4th 1786 This Day I had a son born. I greatly Rejoiced with the Mother that she had brought forth a living & proper child which we little expected considering her great fateigues, hardship, and suffering during her pregnancy. It seemed much to enhance our Obligations to God who is the former of our bodies and the Father of our Spirits that we devote our all to him. He is our God in him we trust. About this time one of my apprintices whose term was out & had been gone some time hearing of my misfortune came to Visit me. He had some time before left with me cloth for a suit of Clothes which he expected was lost; but as it hapned to be saved he generously gave it me as a token of fillial gratitude. I mention this as an instance of the young man's affectionate Regard to me and my family & under God was a blessing to us.

I Now felt dissatisfied as before with my prospect of bringing up a family in a place of so much dissipation and was willing once more to shift my quarters; and in compliance with a call from friends & relations in Hartford Winsor Co Vt with or near whom my Wife was brot up and a happy friendship subsisted, the Town well Organized, a Minister settled, and some pecuniar premium where I might follow my own business retired from public (business in which I have shard ever since I have been on the stage & found it an incumbrance) I concluded to accept the invitation; & accordingly the 27th of April 1787 I went with my second son to Hartford and purchased of those friends about fifty Acres of Wild land here. I underwent the fatiegues of a new settlement and setting up my trade in the woods found some assistance & proceeded with courage and tolerable success. This much enlarged my circle of business, and leaving my apprintice at Clarendon to carry on and letting out my farm there. I had to procure Articles for my trade part from Albany & part from Salem or Newburyport & my custom for shoe work extended through the intermediate space between C...n & H...d. This was much too much. I blamed myself for undertaking so much Worldly business, Sold my 6 works & farm and moved my family to Hartford March 1788, had to grapple with many Difficulties, no pasture, no hay, but what I bought and much difficulty to obtain provision for my family, my mind much taken up with anxious care, & my Bodily strength worn down with Labour building, Shop tann works, House, barn, & the Advantages I gained scarcely counterballanced the evils I escaped. I however enjoyed myself tolerably well in a peaceful Neighbourhood with Christian friends. Nothing Special occured in my affairs for some years: and followd my common course.

April 26th 1789 this day I had a son born and felt my Obligations to God for his goodness, Increaseing my family and granting us means of support in our new Settlement which some might esteem low & mean, but I had learnd to esteem comfortable and recieve it thankfully: but I was sencible in many things I offend with and in all things come short of Gods glory and my Duty. Went on with renewed courage. July 29th 1791 Another son born in my family exciting the sentiments generally expressed on such occasions but not that lively gratitude I wish to experience. I think proper in this place to insert my family Records taken from Town Records in Connecticut and Vermont as follows viz John Clark 3d joined with Deborah Moseley Jnr. Feb 15th 1767. Their son Increase M Clark born Sept. 29th 1768 and died Nov 27th 1773. John born Nov 13th 1770. Asahel born Decbr 10 1772 and Died Decbr 13th

1773. Moseley born Nov 11. 1774 Sarah born March 2 1777. Susannah born Feb 18th 1779. Asahel born Aug 4th 1781. Ruby born Aug 13th 1783. Elijah born June 4th 1786. Daniel born April 26 1789. Sheldon born July 29 1791.

My idea of retireing from all publick business by comming here I found a mistake. About the year 1791 or 92 I was appointed & urged to take the office of Selectman in the Town of Hartford and continued so until 1797. In 1794 I was appointed by the freemen of this Town to Represent them in General Assembly and sustained that appointment five years. In 1796 I was appointed by Legislature a Justice of the peace for Windsor County and here I was at a great stand. It was with the greatest Reluctance I took the office conscious of my unfitness therefor; but urged by my friends I accepted the appointment and continued so until 1804 inclusive when the stream of pollitics turnd the Democratic party prevailed and as I had constantly adhered to the old Washington School I was no longer worthy so much for civil incumbrance in public business which I ever wished to avoid. I must further observe the Chh in Hartford called for my services by appointing me a Deacon in the Chh about the year 1791 and continued so until 1819 when my Age and infirmities forbid me longer to serve. And whether my Christian and Brethren can say I have used the office of a Deacon well I know not; my own Conscience testifies I have been greatly wanting. I desire to be humbled before God and implore forgiveness werein I have faild of doing my Duty; contrary on doing wrong. Most of the Members whom I first served in the office are gone to the land of silence, and I can hardly ascertain for what purpose my life is thus far protracted. I must say with Job all the days of my appointed time will I wait until my change come. I would not live always here — behold thy waiting servant, Lord.

From the Years 1793 or four to the year 1808 was a series of trial to me in the concerns of the Chh & Congregation in Hartford respecting our Minister, the Rev Thomas Gross, an eloquent speaker but very unstable in all his ways as may appear from what follows viz. He first complaind of his Sallary and the mode of payment, then he would have no sallary collected by Law. This some thought a Virtue in the man while others thought it a misstep when he renounced his Sallary to take what the people pleasd to give him. The people paid him by Subscription which made much trouble himself. No better pleased with it he asked for Dismission, the people unwilling to dismiss him paid his Sallary the same way. As to his Doctrines still more unaccountable. First

he preached practical Religion acceptably, then high seasoned Calvinism very Metiphysical, inclined to spin as it were fine yarn which I thought not only offended many hearers but was injurious to the Doctrines of grace. Then suddenly exploded Calvinism, then preached against it and publickly declared he prefered Arminianism. He refused to Administer the sacrament of the Lords supper for several years. Truly the Chh was in some respect out of Gospel order without due Disipline, there being some members in the Chh in favour of Universalism and the Pastor himself seemed warping to that Sentiment, saying it was not an essential error, advising the Chh to recieve them without noticing it in a way of disipline. This was unexpected by the Chh. When in Chh meeting I proposed this Test viz can we as a church of Christ Recieve or continue members professing Universalism: to be Answered Vive Voce by each member present which was unanimously Answered in the Negative. This roused the resentment of some against me, saying we could do with Mr. Gross & the Chh but for you, and you are the one that keep us from our Fathers Table; but the Chh do as you say. The pastor complain^{d} the members, some of them, allow^{d} of danceing in their Houses and danced themselves, that we did not love one another, and he should not Administer Ordinances while things remain^{d} as they were. Note: he sometimes gave attendance a whole evening to the exercises of a danceing School.

In 1797, if I mistake not, while I was attending the Legislature the Church and pastor call^{d} a council of Neighbouring Ministers for Advice & made such settlement of matters. The Ordinances were again Administred. Some time before this date Mr Gross had Burried his second Wife having married a Reputable Widow who had children; and sometime after her Decease He was frequently reported and suspected to be engaged in illicit amors with his Daughter in Law. The latter end of the year 1807 He earnestly asked dismission which the Chh & congregation readily Granted. A Chh meeting assembled Feb 1st 1808 to discuss matters relative to the Chh before dismission of the Pastor and admonish some delinquent members: and to accomplish their business adjourned to Feb 9th 1808 when a Counsil was agreed on a time & place appointed viz 17th Feb 1808. Myself appointed Moderator of the Chh when the Pastor is dismissed. Counsel met according to appointment and on the morning of this day viz Feb 17th 1808 It was publicly declared that the s'd daughter in Law was pregnant by the s'd Father in Law & by him acknowledged, altho for years past he had by his positive declarations and asseverations denied his having any Sexual

intercourse with that female or any other and thereby at times laid the suspicion to rest in some measure except with Eye & Ear witnesses of crime who yet kept silence. The Result of Counsel that Rev Thoms Gross be dismised from his people and be silenced from Preaching.

Tis imposible to describe the feelings of every one on this occasion; suffice it to say it was a day of mourning and lamentation with the Chh and astonishment & regret with all except the prophane. A short time afterwards Mr Gross came forward with his Confession for the sin of fornication which was publickly read & accepted by the Chh. There were still behind some hard things grevious to the Chh — his hard speeches and abusive language to some of his Neibours and declareing his intention to accomplish an incestous Marriage with his Daughter in law and his presumptuous denial of facts which now appear. Soon he asked for a Recommendation from this Chh, who thought under the present existing circumstances they could not recommend him a member in good standing. This enraged him. He insisted on Marrying but could get no Authority to perform the Ceremony of marriage for incestuous Subjects. He went away with his paramour to the State of N: york and there continued and there Married. After a while he returnd with a written renunciation of the Chh saying the Chh could not Excommunicate him after he had renounced them. However, after labouring in vain to convince him of his errors, after deliberate consideration the Chh proceeded to his Excommunication on the 4th of Novbr 1808. Remark on the same day he was expelled the freemason Lodge, the two societies not knowing the proceedings of each other. Now we from time to time recievd letters from him filled with the most scurvillous Language; saying in one thus: You Clark are leading the church to destruction and the time is not far distant when the Chh in Hartford will be blotted out from under Heaven. You know you could not Excommunicate me after I had renounced you. After a series of letters when I thought he had exhausted his firebrands and arrows I hesitated whether to make him any further answer. I however wrote my Exordium and Ultimatum in few words to brake off all correspondence with him: I consulted two neiboring Clergymen shewing them his last letter with what I had written: One said it was good enough for him, the question was whether it was good enough for me; the other said if I wrote at all this is as proper as anything you can write, but his letter is not worthy an answer & I think I should not. He has since commenced preaching Universalism and is now issuing periodical publications entitled The Gospel Advocate in favour of that system, printed at

Buffeloe and disseminated as he and his coagitors have influence. Meanwhile the Chh satisfied they had dealt with Mr Gross according to Gospel order, they continued Assembling on the sabbath for publick worship, waiting an opportunity to obtain a preacher and subscriptions were out to pay the expence, and the years 1809 and 1810 we had preaching most of the time.

Now to look a little back while we were destitute & afflicted my Brother Deacon Whitney said to me, Brother Clark, are you not almost discouraged amidst all these trials and dangers? I think I am so. I Replyed I remember this text of scripture: *if thou faint in the day of Adversity, thy strength is small;* that my strength is small is certain & if I have any it is derived from a higher sorce; and if I feel discouraged I feel wrong; we must rely on him who giveth strength to them that have no power. While the Lord God omnipotent Reigneth and the government is on the shoulders of the Mediator who is wonderful Counselor & we have abundant reason to trust his word & rely on his grace for Strength to do and suffer his whole will concerning us. All this is true, Brother Clark, and I wish and pray we may proceed on that ground & have you thought on any plan to keep the Chh together as a body that may edify itself in love in Gospel order? I replied I had determined to propose this viz to have a conference every other week on Wednesday or thursday to be call^d a Church conference and endeavor to strenghen each others hands & encourage each others hearts & I think it would be pleasing to the members of the Chh and other people spreading our cause before our God in prayer. And if none will join with us, we will meet with your consent and pray together for ourselves and others. He replied I am pleased with the plan and rejoice to join in it. Accordingly we appointed a conference and notified it some time in the winter 1808 when met according to apointment. Governor Marsh asked me what was the design of this Chh meeting. I replied we did not call it Chh meeting but Church Conference. I am very glad said he. The conference being opened by prayer, Gov. Marsh first Spoke saying he was glad to see this conference begun and hoped to see it continued: Friends and brethren do be intreated to attend it constantly and conscienciously especially in this day of calamity and rebuke: may you find comfort and edification, dont drop it but persevere.

This conference has been Observed and partially attended ever since. In the years 1809 & 1810 there was considerable revival of Religion in Hartford and about 40 added to the Chh: the hearts of Christians rejoiced while God appeared in his glory to build up Zion. This

seemed a time of much or great searching of heart for the divisions of Hartford. For my own part I could not avoid saying wo is me, that I have from my youth up I have been a man of contention tho in temporal affairs scarce any man has been less litigious, but in matters relating to Religion I have often been in dispute with others, especially with preachers. I am willing to be tried by the standard the word of God and on the strictest examination I cannot find that I have been actuated by corrupt motives or sinister ends and I think the termination and issue of matters and things have generally Justified my opposion tho I am sencible that in many things I offend all and in all things come short of Gods glory and my Duty. I must mingle Confessions with supplications and thanksgivings: the humble meek and lowly find acceptance through Christ alone.

In 1811 the Chh and society gave Rev Austin Hazen a call to settle in the Ministry among us. He accepted and was Ordained May 27th 1811 and is now the faithful pastor of this Chh and not to say he is a perfect man or that the people are all righteous and pleased with perfection. If he were so we must say that Religion does not flourish & progress among us, nowithstanding his indifatigable dilligence and fervent desire to promote it. We still hope in God that he will pour out his spirit from on high & revive his work. In Jan 1813 if I mistake not Brother Deaⁿ Whitney died, a man of exemplary piety who endeavoured by all means in his power to promote Religion. I visited him the day before his death he expressed the utmost Resination to the divine will: In the perfect exercise of his reason when death approached he made a most ardent & importunate prayer for himself and others & soon after expired with strong faith and hope of salvation through Christ. I was now left alone to serve in the office of deacon and desired the Chh to appoint another but did not succeed for several years when my age & infirmities made it difficult for me to serve any longer. I resigned the office and the Chh appointed two others viz Deaⁿ J Bailey & J Tracy.

For a number of years past my family have often been visited with extreme sickness. In 1820 my youngest dauter taken sick from home & confinᵈ 6 months unable to walk at all & for two years together at other times we have had to tend the sick in my family night and day. My Wife & youngest daughter both sick for three years & visited by physicans several times every week until the death of my Wife which took place on the 31st May 1822. And tho I had long anticipated the stroke when it suddenly came it almost overcame me for a little season, but soon recovering fortitude were enabled to endure this chastisement

with patience and Resignation and applied the command *be ye also ready*. My Daughter at the same time extremely sick appeared nigh unto death. We had for some time been at a loss to Judge which must go first, but the mother being taken and the daughter left we expected her soon to follow. However providence so ordered she still lives, a monument of Gods mercy and of pity & charity of all around her, long was unable to help herself in the least even to feed herself or use her limbs at all or have her limbs straitned not having stood or walked for more than two years. Myself for six years past unable to labour by reason of lameness & sickness first taken with an enormous swelling in my ancle which confin'd me from Sept. to the Feb following & most of the time to my bed. Am very lame ever since, besides in any sudden attacks of sickness being much under the Doctors care. I am still very lame & can scarcely help myself and assist in lifting my helpless daughter. The living man no reason to complain. Not having abundance of this worlds goods must submit to privations as might be expected the expence must be great. The wheels of business struck off and constantly encreasing expence for Doctors nurses and other necessaries accumulates various debts beyond my power to pay. I thought the best course I could take was to deed part of my farm to my youngest son viz 60 acres east of the Road and give him 200 dollars besides to pay the debts amount $700 by Estimation and to provide for my sustenance. I hope he will succeed to save his Interest but am doubtful. Be it as it may, I submit to providence and determine to be content where my heavenly Father places me. I shall doubtless be tried whether I can keep my Resolution, but by his grace I can do all things, without him nothing.

Looking back on my life & the times that have passed over me of which my marriage and settlement in a family state is a prominent one: I cannot avoid contemplating on many things respecting my wife & myself in our Juvenile years while we were conversing & agreeing on preliminaries previous to our marriage. As I was then under Religious impressions which I could not and dare not attempt to shake off, I frequently wrote to her on the subject and mingled sentiments of religion with Temporal concerns, expressing ideas of the Necessity of practiseing the Religion of the Gospel either in a single or married life. I desired her to write to me as she might have opportunity, but she declined & begged to be excused said she was utterly incapable of good legible composition and hoped I would not insist on it, that she recieved and read my letters with the greatest satisfaction and wished me by all means to continue the favour. Thus I was deprived of the pleasure of

her communication while at the distance of fifty miles but was constrained to give it up at her request & the same difficulty attended her in Religious conversation. She would hear with silent attention & approbation, making some pertinent Remarks expressive of her ideas of scripture Doctrines and Orthodoxy and when discoursing about her Joining the Chh I before belonged to which took place soon after we began to keep house. She spoke affectionately and answered questions with such propiety. It was very pleasing to me and through life adorned her profession as well as most Christians. Tho of a Volatile temper and inclined to fretfulness, it seldom overcame her better reason. And altho she often anticipated and as we say, borrowed trouble, yet when trouble came, she was a pattern of fortitude and patience. Thus when in great trials by the Death of Children & Parents by long & extreme sickness in our family, in perils by fire, by awful bursts of Thunder and lightning destroying our property and endangering our lives, she exhibited a calmness fortitude and presence of mind not common to her sex. I write not this for encomium or panigeric but to do Justice to her character and to endear and perpetuate her memory. Thus I have given a sketch of our acquaintance and proceedings through Life for the benefit of myself and children.

March 1st 1824 This day reading some part of the foregoing sketches and considering the prospects before me respecting Temporal concerns, they appear difficult, but however much so either by the immediate hand of providence or by my own inadvertence in way of Trade, having lost considerable in that way, having sold a lot of land three years ago for $450, taking obligations for 4 yearly payments and after 2 years not the least payment made nor ever likely to be; and after having recourse to Law & imprisoning the debtor and he still refusing to return the property (of which he had no deed) it remained to Eject him off; and being myself sick and unable to do any thing about it, I was constraind to sell the premises to another man for $300 and the cost already incured & at his own risk in Ejectment; and I wait two years for the last payment on Intrest. This disappointment in the present Exigence & embarrasment is uncomfortable and proves both the weakness and turpitude of human Nature: be it so the truth is the lot is cast into the lap but the whole disposing thereof is of the Lord. This loss nor all the losses and crosses I meet with in my Temporal intrest are of any comparison with my Spiritual interest; if that may prosper, All is well; nor will I perplex my mind with temporal losses if I may but lay up a treasure in heaven, having my heart there and a crown of

Glory which the Lord the Righteous Judge may give me and to all who love his appearing.

March 15th This morning I awoke with Reflections on what is called a long Life but which appears a span on a Retrospective view: I am this day 79 years of Age and now at the end of this supposed long period but seeming short life I view myself as it were inch high above the Grave. And now let me enquire what have I done for God for my own Soul or the souls of others. Alas, how little and were I to be weighed in the ballance of the sanctuary, surely be found wanting and must plead guilty before God, sins of Youth and sins of riper years, sins of ignorance, and sins of knowledge all perfectly known to God. And my Righteousness all as filthy rags I am lost in myself, where then is my hope? It is in Christ alone. He came to seek and save that which was lost and tho my offences are many and great, they cannot exceed the riches of his grace. Could I attain to the full assurance of understanding in his word, the full assurance of genuine Faith in himself & the full Assurance of hope grounded on such Faith as the fruit and effect of it, I could no more doubt of my salvation than of my present existance; but here lies the Difficulty: my heart according to divine Testimony is desperately wicked and decietful above all things and I dare not trust it for he that trusteth his own heart is a fool. But I am not afraid to trust myself soul and body (with this heart this heart wicked as it is) in the hands of God to work all my works in and for me and in this particular my heart does not condemn me. I think I know in whom I have believed and cannot be decieved since God has made me willing to be what he would have me to be. This is the ground of my hope: if this be truly so, the effectual call is obeyed God is glorified conscience is satisfied and my Salvation secured. Tho iniquities prevail against me: as for my transgressions the blood of Jesus will purge them away. May I not say I with my mind serve the Law of God, tho I find another law in my members waring against the law of my mind and bringing me into captivity, but the captive in such case is delivered and deemed by Christ and here I rest: *why art thou cast down o my soul, disquieted within me hope thou in God for I shall yet praise him who is my saving healer and my Redeemer God.*

I have been this day much taken up in mind and intent on Peters scituation in his temptations trials & falls: He was ignorant of the nature of Christs kingdom tho he acknoledged him to be the Christ or Mesiah but had the same ideas with other Jews that he would be a Temporal Deliverer of that Nation, and when he was told in plain words the son

of man must suffer many things and be put to death, Peter in his heroic courage declares this be far from thee Lord; this shall not be unto thee. Now the reply of our Lord to peter viz get thee behind me Satan & leaves a difficulty in my mind for a proper solution. He must mean that Peters expression came from the instigation of Satan and the hardness of peters heart and yet he was a faithful deciple of Christ as appears from our Lords Remark viz Satan hath desired to have you that he may sift you as wheat, but I have prayed for thee that thy faith fail not. Hence I conclude the true Christian may be ignorant of many important truths and at times speak and act contrary to truth and yet the principle of faith remain in his heart. At another time when Peter and the other deciples were forewarned of their being offended in Christ and forsaking him, peter declared he would lay down his life for Christs sake rather than forsake him. Mark the reply. *Wilt thou lay down thy life for my sake? Verily I say unto thee the cock shall not crow twice before thou wilt deny me thrice, and so it came to pass.* Christ locked Peter into repentance and he wept bitterly. When Christ afterwards opened the apostles minds to understand the scripture, they saw their ignorance folly and guilt and Christs compassion to sinners. After Christs Reserection appearing to the desciples puts a triple Question to peter, *simon, son of Jonas, Lovest thou me?* Peter answers *yea Lord.* When repeated a second time & reiterated a third time, peter was grieved & answered *Lord thou knowest all things: thou knowest that I love thee.* He seems to be accepted of Christ. Peter might be grieved but could not wonder that he who thrice denyed his Lord after such solemn protestations of fidelity should be thrice questioned as if word might be doubtful and fail of correspondent conduct as he heretofore had done.

Now to make some application to myself, Christ Jesus with his Omnicient God head is doubtless as present with me as he was with peter and others at the above transactions in his Manhood. He hath given me his word in the Gospel of his Grace and told me this is the word that shall Judge me in the last day and that Consequently it is the Rule for Judging now. In this word stands recorded the Question to peter and proposed to every one who profeses to know Christ Jesus. Now should He who commands the hosts of Heaven and calleth the stars by name call me by name saying, *John Clark, son of Christian parents, lovest thou me?* Should I be able like peter to answer at every repetion of the question *O Lord thou knowest all things, thou knowest that I love thee?* I should certainly be grieved to consider my love so small and my

Obedience so defective. I might with peter weep bitterly for having so long denied him the honour and glory of my salvation as I find to be the case by reading a few pages near the beginning of these sheets. When conscience cry^d^ against me I ran to Duties wheras now if conscience cry I run to Christ and use duties only as evidences of Obedience to Christ, being convinced of Sin of Righteousness and Judgment by the Holy spirit which Christ hath sent for that purpose: this sentiment has been fixed in my mind near fifty years past and if in anything I am yet decieved I pray God I may be undecieved. In a doctrinal and speculative view I could answer the above question affirmative but practically as relates to myself doubtful. I am in the hand of God & rejoice in it. I find the exercises of my mind drawn out to unusual length for this my birth Day of which I think it unlikely I shall live to see another. Whether I do or not I submit to God. I look not for happiness in birth Days in this world as I do at the day of my death if so be I may die in the Lord. The day of ones death is better than the day of ones birth.

I think I desire to be content with my Fathers will and while I consider his providence and the opperation of his hand I remark that in January last past a grandaughter of mine who had been attending her sick Sister was herself taken sick at my house & often visited by a physician nearly a month and is likely to recover; this sick one in addition to my helpless daughter made it difficult. Again Feb 11th the sick sister Wife of Josiah Chamberlain Died, leaving one child. This man obliged to desist from keeping house. These dispensations of providence have a voice in them: *be ye also Ready:* my own health is very infirm, but I think it remarkable that I have so steady a hand that I can write as I can and my sight so good as it is while my other faculties as Voice hearing &c fail so much more and mind capable of some Reflection tho cloudy. In patience I hope to posses my Soul. Lords Day March 21st my chief meditations this day were on the divine communications to mankind. This led me first to contemplate the incommunicable Attributes of God, his Eternity, Omnipotence, Omnicience, Omniprecence, &c and second his communicated benefits including all the blessings of Creation Providence and Grace. In the creation of Man the Lord God formed him of the dust of the ground in infinite Wisdom, formed with all the Organs Necessary for such an erect animal, but without the breath of life could perform no animal functions and the same Almighty power and wisdom breathed into him the breath of life and man became a living Soul and a compleat Moral Agent, but by transgression he came dead in a moral sense & contracted a principle of hatred to God

and cannot be restored but by a new creation or Regeneration effected only by the power and grace of God. Herein from first to last is discovered divine communications. This moral agent thus dead can never recover himself but is entirely dependant on God for life breath being & all things. A sinner thus dead does not desire but is opposed to the divine life and chooses spiritual death and to continue in sin and in order to raise the sinner to spiritual life God invarialy begins with conviction setting home his awful condition as condemned by the holy Law of God. These convictions are various as to continuance & issue. Paul held in suspense three days, Zacheus not one moment, some perhaps months or years without a gracious Issue, but if they end in sound conversion it is effected entirely by the spirit & grace of God. Altho the soul undeniably acts in this work yet does not of itself nor by itself, for it would not act contrary to its own native bent & inclination, but the power and grace of God alone is sufficient to bring the sinner out of Darkness into marvelous light. In all this work of conversion to God are most abundant Divine Communications that Christ Jesus is the only saviour, that his atonement merits and Righteousness is sufficient for the Justification and salvation of the sinner that sanctification, Holiness, love to God, faith, Repentance adoption, &c, are all divine communications, the work of the holy spirit; and natural reason hath nothing to do or claim in this great work, and altho Christians are said to purify their hearts in obeying the truth and purifying their hearts by faith, yet it is by or through the spirit. It is the work of God to begin and carry it on to perfection and properly divine communications which formerly in my youth I view^d to be only some imediate sealing manifestation and sensible communion with God causing the christian to rejoice with Joy except giving credit to . . . Testimony to take God at his word believing truth because it is Gods word, unspeakable and full of Glory. This indeed is divine communication, but so are all other heavenly blessings, but I erroneously left out of the account the aforesaid blessings with many others which I now think to be divine communications which if Recieved as such with humble gratitude and entire dependance on God to carry on his own work in the soul by an Obedient walk before him and taking delight in him when duties seem unpleasant longing after conformity to Jesus Christ. Thus the christian may be assured of his intrest in Christ and the promises of the gospel which are all yea & Amen in him. To all these things I readily assent and confesst in a doctrinal View and desire a correspondant practice, but alas how short I fall. I know that in me naturally dwelleth no good thing. I am carnal,

sold under sin, but blessed be God I am striveing against it and depend on almighty strength to gain ground & Obtain the victory. I expect to sustain a constant warfare with sin satan & my own corruption while in this world but entertain a good hope through grace to Obtain the victory through Jesus Christ my Lord.

Thus I have sketched some of my sabbath exercises on this day when bodily disorders forbid my attending publick worship. April 4th 1824 This Lords day passed with less worldly temptation or satanical suggestions than usual and was richly fed from the word of life while I heard the great Mystery of Godliness God manifest in the flesh & discussed from Tim 3-16, this mistery which was kept hid for ages which Christ in God now made manifest to all nations for the Obedience of faith. 1st God manifest in the flesh by his miracles wrought in his own name by his own power. Raising the dead, casting out Devils, stilling the tempest &c 2nd Justified in the Spirit the descent and remaining on him at his baptism and the Voice from heaven saying this is my beloved son in whom I am well pleased. 3d seen of Angels at his birth informing the shepherds the Host singing Glory to God in the highest Peace on Earth good Will to men — at his transfiguration at his agony in the garden at his Reserection 4th Preached unto the gentiles, proved by prophets Apostles and Ministers of Christ in all ages 5th Believed on in the world, confirmed by the conversion of 3000 on the day of pentecost and multitudes of believers in all age down to the present day 6th Recieved up to glory, in sight of his deciples he ascended up to heaven leaving a promise that he will come again and receive them and all believers to himself that they may be with him where he is to behold his Glory: How consoling to the Christian. If I have any comfort or consolation, it is from this corse looking for and hastning unto the coming of Christ to change my vile body, making it like his glorious body that when he appeareth I may be like him seeing him as he is. This is my desired Rest and none other even; so come, Lord Jesus . . .

Saturday May 15th this day arrived my youngest Son Sheldon after an absence of a year and five months. On him I depened for support the remainder of my old age and the payment of my debts. I flattered myself he would be able to do something towards it but not so. He tells me he is not able to do any thing towards it and no prospect that he ever can & wishes to give up all he has done and give up all he has recieved and be quit of the debts. Thus I must be left in my old age to wade through the difficulty of payment of at least $700 which as times are will swallow up nearly all my property and a very trifle left to support

me and my sick Daughter. This intelligence at first distressed me: but said I to myself I am as well prepared to undergo privations as I ever was. If this year I must die I shall not want it, and if I live, He that regardeth the Sorrows will regard me: it is the operation of the Lords hand. Let him do what seemeth him good. It is a trial of my resolution to be content where my Heavenly Father places me: and if I am not willing to be poor & despise (if the will of God be so) then I do not coppy my Saviours example. Not excusing my own folly but acknowledging my mistakes, I have not designedly done wrong: may I be wise to salvation.

Lords Day June 13th This day revolving in my mind the dispensations of divine providence toward me & my family, I was anxious to determine whether I was duly contented with and resigned to the will of God, seeing my Temporal affairs embarrased as above stated, my Daughter sick & helpless for Years past, and my Housekeeper & nurse sick from the beginning of April last to the present time, and no present prospect of Recovering soon to health. The difficulty of obtaining nurses renders our situation quite difficult, but shall we forget the mercies of God because afflicted; God forbid: Our heavenly Father knows best how and when to correct & chastise his Children and I desire to be resigned to and acquiesce in his will. and prayed for these divine blessings Friday July 23d Mrs. B...h my housekeeper still continuing sick, the expence exceeds my power to discharge. I am constrained to apply to the publick for Relief in her behalf, but at present find none. Sickness in my family tries my resolution to contentment in the state I am in but I rejoice — it does not remove my confidence in God; may his will be done and myself resigned. Friday Sept. 7th sickness in my family still continues, My Daughter now sick of a fever makes it Necessary that Mrs. B...h should be removed to another place, and this day was removed to Capt D...s with assurance of support from the Town by proper Authority both with me & with him from the first of August 1824 and thus mitigated are our Multiplied cares. All our concerns are with God, be then silent at his sovereign will & let every murmur die.

Thursday Nov 18th attempted a Journey to Williamstown to settle with Doct L. Arrived there Saturday 20th, did my business, returned home Nov 25th, fatiegued & low spirited, found my son Asahel & family moved from my house, leaving his eldest son to take care of things and wait on me. My worldly prospects are gloomy: Spirituals not bright. January 1st 1825 I this Morning see the beginning of a new

Year: the Question occurs what have I done the year past for God, for my own Soul, or the Souls of others. I must drop the pen for further Reflection — Reflection gives me no consolation respecting any thing done by me as progressive in the divine Life; all my comfort arises from the grace of God through Jesus Christ and communicated to me partly through the medium of affliction whereby I am more Resigned and conformed to the will of God for which I give thanks to his holy name. *In faithfulness thou hast afflicted me.*

Lords day March 7th detained from P: Worship as I have been most of the winter hitherto by lameness & Rheumatism. I fear I do not learn the lesson designed thereby. Tuesday March 15th This Day I arrived at the age of four score Years, a period which I find by experience as well as revelation; my strength is labour and sorrow & what is still more to be lamented, my soule is not in health and prosperous, my inner man does not appear to grow stronger as my outer man decays: Lord revive thy work. Wednesday April 20th so overcome with Rheumatism I am almost entirely helpless. This severity is all right: my God does all things well; he mixes comforts with afflictions. Lords Day May 1st much relieved from my late complaint attended publick Worship and the Celebration of the Lords supper; was edified. I seemed to feel the sweets of Christs purchase. Lords Day June 26th Detained from publick Worship: spent the hours in a gloomy sadness but felt some satisfaction in Resignation to the divine Will; since God worketh all things after the counsel of his own will, I acquiesce in it nor desire to alter Divine appointments. Am more anxious to study things revealed than to scan secret things which belong to God. Lords Day August 14th Absent from P: W Examined myself as to groth in grace in so many Years which constitute old age in which iniquity has so much prevailed against me yet a clearer discovery of the beauty of Holines & the transcendant malignancy of sin, a preponderating longing desire after the former & deliverance from the latter together with more constant Resignation & submission to God in his providence, in the methods of his grace, and in the whole of his divine Government, and constant regard to God and duty. If these things are grace or groth, therein I must conclude I advance but in very slow and small degrees, but encouraged to press forward toward the mark for the prize of the high calling of God in Christ Jesus — if the promise tarry long wait for it with patience. Lords Day Sept 18th Absent from P W. My infirmities of late have been severe, seized suddenly & violently on the 25th of

Aug at night with a Diarrae of billious kind, was much distressed many days, but after 18 days confinement have recovered so as to be able to write & walk abroad. In this sickness I experienced as much submission to God and as much Reconciled to his Will as ever in my life — I am stript of self dependance relative to this life and that to come, my health & strength of body and mind all enfeebled, Worldly property nearly exhausted, and my ability to do any thing to purchase or deserve Salvation still more impossible. I am cast on the sovereign Mercy of God through Christ, — And Voluntarily throw myself there; rejoiceing that I am in the hands of so Holy Wise Just & merciful God while I by Faith and hope enter into that within the Vail where the forerunner is entred.

Lords Day Nov 6 attended P. W and the celebration of the Lords supper with proper feeling. March 15 1826 this is my birth Day Aged 81 years an Age very few attain: but I trust many attain to greater degrees of grace and holiness than I have at this advanced age. My circumstances are somewhat peculiar; but I must not complain and in affliction forget the many Mercies I enjoy turn my view from my own affliction to that of my dear Saviour when on Earth; among enemies he bore the iniquities of us all, was wounded for our Transgressions and bruised for our iniquities: why should Christians faint under afflictions but be content through tribulation to enter into the kingdom of Heaven? My family & Secular affairs much embarrased, having no help indoors nor out, my house-keepers term out and gone: a sick Daughter to attend, a nurse difficult to obtain.

December 26th 1826 I have experienced considerable mutation the year past both in my person and intrest. One severe fit of sickness in August & September: My property nearly exhausted but my debts nearly all paid, more so than I have experienced many years. and I have Comfortable stores of provision. While Viewing the changes of this mutable World I am reminded of the Astrologers Observation: This is my Grand climacterical year wherein some extraordinary event or change may be expected to take place. Tho I very little regard their Opinion yet as it has hapned to me the present year, I cannot but reflect upon it. But turning my View from Astrology, I would rather Regard the work of the Lord and consider the Operation of his hand Towards me and those round about me. I desire to walk as in the sight of God to speak as in the hearing of God and do all things as in his presence as my Judge. March 15th 1827 This day I was 82 years of

Age: In so feeble a state of health I could attend to no business nor write this record: but defered it some days. I have almost wholly Neglected to use the pen in this way. The year past it has become burdensome to me to write but cannot pass over this season without some remarks. Numbering four score years & more makes me an Old man. The World of Men in which I was born is under Ground except a few instances, three of which is in this Neighborhood within the distance of one mile. Our God hath some more work for us to do. May we watch and pray & dayly Examine how we spend each day and pray that the Redeemers Kingdom may be advanced & yet cast in our mite for their purpose: leave the World in peace and go to be ever With the Lord. January 1st 1828 The Light of this Morning evinces the Longsuffering of God to sinners who have squandred away many Years in the service of sin: bringing them through the last year to the beginning of another new year. For my own part I find so many sins comitted so many duties omitted; it is matter of deep Repentance so much coldness and stupidity in the things of Religion it seems inconsistant with a state of grace: O Lord revive thy work if it is indeed begun and grant I may improve this New Year in new Obedience March 15th this day I am Eighty Three Years of Age and under all the infirmities attending I am forbiden to labour for Sustenance or to look forward with expectation of seeing another birth day: Divine providence has comfortably provided for me hitherto, and I am far from distrusting the same for future bestowment of all that is best for me. The most I have to complain of is my unfruitfulness. My Spiritual Maladies cannot be removed but by the Great Physisian Christ Jesus. To him I commit my sad case.

Lords Day April 13th. This day as well as most of the sabbath the year past Absent from P W. The train of thoughts on Religious subjects were chiefly on the Necessity of keeping the Heart with all Diligence because out of it are the Issues of Life and by self Examination to Decide whether the love of God be really in my Heart. My Mind much Confused and sinking under bodily infirmities and Spiritual disorders. I have been confined from business more than half the time the Year past which is the case at present. I am in the hand of God and Rejoice in it. I still hope in God that all things may work together for my good. Fridy May 29th Went to Windsor in a feeble state of health, did my business. Lords day June 1st at Windsor attended publick Worship and celebration of the Lords supper, felt some affections suitable to the Occasion, but was greatly embarrased by deafness: ah said I to myself this

bodily deafness can be borne in submission to the Will of God: But Spiritual deafness, Slowness of heart to believe, Revealed truth is a still worse mallady. December 29th 1828 this day Departed this life My Aged frind Neighbour and Brother in the Lord: the youngest of the three refered to March 15th 1827. January 1 1829 This new Years Day brings with it a Train of thoughts on past. My bodily health the year past has been generally feeble and more days of sickness and pain than of health and ease. My debts are Accumulating. My friends are kind and help me in want: I have a kind God; what want I more but a heart to Love and serve him? Writing is burdensome to Me. I cast my eye back to Jan 1st 1828 and adopt the language there Used. Lords Day March 15th 1829 This is my birth day Aged 84 Years, a term one would think sufficiently long for the trial of a Righteous man. And more than such a term allowed to the Wicked would render them beyond all measure Vile: continuing in sin and enmity to God and treasuring up wrath against the day of wrath. I start at writing this sentence; into inquiry to which class I belong; the Lord is my portion saith my Soul, I will trust in him; tho I have gone Astray like a lost sheep, Lord, seek thy servant, make me yet in some way servicable that I may not forget thy Law. Do with me according to thy good pleasure.

Lords Day April 12th this day meditating on the ways of God in the works of creation providence & grace: looking abroad viewing the snow more than one foot deep of sollid winter snow and no present prospect of it going off before May, the winter thus crowded into the spring — but the promise still remains sure that Summer & Winter shall not cease while the Earth stands. This led me to enquire if my own heart and the hearts of other Christians are not more cold frozen and heart buried in the rubbish of the World than the earth is this day with snow. We trust the warm Rays of the sun Will soon desolve the snow and cause Vegetation — O may the Sun of Righteousness Warm our hearts & cause us to bring forth fruit unto God. This day was informd of the Death of Dean Jos Tracy the 10th. It is Observable that the greater part of the deaths in this Town the year past were professors of Religion or Members of the first Church here. If Judgment begin at the House of God, what shall the end be of those that obey not the Gospel but reject it and its Author? Monday April 13th attened the Funeral of Dean Tracy, was much affected with the number of deaths among Professors of late, 5 out, if I mistake not in the space of five months, perhaps not one of them so old as myself. I am yet spared; may I improve the short re-

maining time to the purposes for which time was given. Wednesday 15th Attended the Circular Conference. My lamness which has confined me most of the Winter past, seems to be less troublesom, a favour I acknoledge with thankfulness, that I can assemble with Christians in their devotions altho my deafness prevents my hearing any but the plainest words. The exercises of the day were edifying and comforting to me.

Lords day Ap,[1] 19th my housekeeper sick, sent 5 or 6 miles for her mother. She is just arrived otherwise we should be destitute: with two sick and none to attend them. May our souls be in health and prosper. Thursday July 9th heard of the death of Israel Gillit, the eldest of the three referred to several pages back Aged 91. I am yet spared to continue a few days or hours longer in the period of Labour & sorrow. I have been confined to my house nearly three weeks with lameness in my feet and legs which still continues without mitigation, also several days hard sickness. I hardly write inteligeble. My feeble frame is shock[d]. I could not be surprised if Death should be sent to remove me hence in a few days or hours. I hearty desire this languid insensibility may be removed before the summons comes. Friday July 10th With much difficulty by the help of Others Attened the funeral of Isrel Gillit. My meditations on Death were calm while I considered that soon this grey head and these dim eyes sunk in their Urns must sleep reclin,[d] in silent dust till the Great Archangels Trump shall shake Creation where there shall be a Reserrection both of Just and unjust. Lord Jesus, recieve my Spirit, watch over my Dust, and Raise me to thine Eternal Kingdom. January 1st 1830 This Day by the light of the New Year I see myself in the Land of the living still in the period of labour and sorrow but surrounded with many blessings in the course of divine providence & in the methods of Grace. I feel my ingratitude reproved by mercies received and Gratitude thereby excited — tho afflicted am not forsaken.

Lords Day Jan 24 1830, My complaint still continues & life continues, but health and strength are mine no more: all the days of my appointed time will I wait till my Change come. March 15th This is my birthday and many such days have I seen and recorded I think it unlikely I shall see another and if it seems to me I shall be past Writing. I have been confined from labour & chiefly confined to my house the Year past and no present prospect of being any better and now have a great cold which makes me sick, my legs swell and I am Very lame; an intolerable itching humour from head to foot has afflicted me for

months past depriving of Sleep. I am very deaf and the sight of one Eye fails fast. All these are the Harbingers of Death, and I must soon attend my dissolution, having numbred 85 years and considering myself in the hand of God I rest Satisfied.

Thurs^d Dec. 2^d this day is anual Thanksgiving in Vermont. My pen must be short in Recording the larg amount of thankfulness I owe my God and which I in some measure feel for his mercies bestowed. Amidst the afflictions he hath seen fit to chasten me with this year, a severe fit of sickness from June 1st. For two months was confined to my bed unable to stand alone or bear my weight, my life despaird of for some time, yet I live at this date to speak and write of mercies — Judge of my Obligations. Jan 1st 1831 Another new Years-day opens upon my sight. I bid welcom but cannot forget the period of Labour and sorrow I have seen a time the year past when death appeared nearer to me than it does now: but now I know it is nearer than it ever was before. . . . My hope and prayer is that I may be sanctified by inherent Righteousness and Justified by imputed Righteousness and thus Obtain Salvation with Eternal Glory in that Happy World where the Inhabitants say not I am sick. March 15th This Day I have numbred 86 years of my Life. Strange it seems that so many long years as Viewed in youthful perspective should roll away in so short time as it appears in Aged Retrospect. My health low & mind weakned by infirmities forbids my making pertinent remarks so drop my pen Abruply. Lords Day May 8th Revolving in mind the times & days gone by I think I may Number more than Seventy Sabbaths since I have attended public Worship — Not my inclination has prevented but sickness, lameness, deafness, and general desibility shuts me out. I feel to suffer in my spirited & temporal intrest, but must not, Will not murmur. Tho now I am Old & greyheaded, O God forsake me not. Thursday Dec,^r 4th Thanksgiving day in this State and ought so to be by way of imminance on account of the great Revival of Religion throughout our Land Hundreds and thousands turn,^d from the error of their ways to the Wisdom of the Just. God appears in his Glory to build up Zion.

January 1st 1832 Another New Years day Dawns upon me. One Year after another pass away and I live to see them. The question must be to what purpose or improvement do I live after Spirit or after the flesh — O Lord truly I am thy servant, save the son of thy Handmaid. I have gone astray like a lost sheep, seek thy servant, for I have not forgot thy word. Let me not be ashamed of my hope. March 15th This is my birth Day — In a low State both of body & mind thoughts

on death familiarizes it to me and Reconciles me to my change. The last New Years Reflections must answer for this day and excuse my infirmities.

* * * * *

June 24th 1842

This Day I am requested to add a few lines in this place to record the death in the above journal or narative of my Brother John Clark who died the 2nd of Jan 1833 aged 88. I will also State my own age at this time. I am now in my Ninetyeth year. If I should live till the 13th of next october, I shall be 90 years old; but Alas for the improvment I have made of so many years, but I will hope for forgivness — and for grace to make a better improvment of the Short remnant of my days.

Daniel Clark.

EARLY VERMONT PRINTERS AND PRINTING

By John Spargo

Director-Curator, Bennington Historical Museum and Art Gallery

The printing press and progress go together, and this skilfully written and authentic review by Mr. Spargo of the efforts of the early Vermonters to get their ideas into print is a graceful note on an ancient and important theme. The article appeared first as a brochure prepared at the request of our printers, E. L. Hildreth and Company, Inc., of Brattleboro, Vermont. The text, attractively set in Linotype Original Old Style, represented the company in a book sponsored by the Boston Club of Printing House Craftsmen for their nineteenth convention. Editor.

WHEN the State of Vermont was formed in 1777, there was not a printer anywhere within the new state. This is another unique circumstance to be added to the many that distinguish the history of the Green Mountain State and endow it with peculiar romantic charm. Rarely, if ever, since printing from movable type was introduced, has any people living under civilized government seceded from that government and set up an independent sovereign state without one printing press within the territory of that sovereignty.

So long as they were mere settlers, without any thought of establishing a new state, it was no great hardship for the inhabitants of the territory we know as Vermont to depend upon the older and more settled parts of the country for their printing. Such books as they desired to buy could be had from Hartford, Boston and New York. For news, particularly news relating to political affairs, domestic and foreign, they relied upon such newspapers as the *Connecticut Courant*, Rivington's *Royal Gazette*, Gaine's *New York Gazette*, and others. Many of them had bought lands with titles derived from charters granted by the Royal Governor of New York. Others, doubtless a majority, held their lands under charters issued by the Royal Governor of New Hampshire. Both provinces claimed jurisdiction over the entire territory, which, because

settlers with New Hampshire titles were in the majority, came to be known as the New Hampshire Grants.

The controversy over the charters, and the ensuing need of the settlers to defend their titles — especially the necessity of the settlers in and around Bennington to defend themselves against confiscation of their lands and homes by New York — made manifest the inconvenience of not having a resident printer. When Ethan Allen, Remember Baker and Robert Cochran, in February, 1772, issued a defiant rejoinder to a Proclamation by Governor Tryon, it was necessary to take the simple poster to Hartford to be printed. The work might have been done nearer home — at Lansingburgh, for example — but that was dangerous territory. There was danger that the posters would be seized, and that any person sent for them would be arrested.

When it had been resolved by leading settlers to bring the controversy over the charters to a dramatic end, by declaring that the disputed area was henceforth to be an independent sovereign state, the fourteenth in the confederation of states, lack of a resident printer ceased to be inconvenient merely. The organization of a state involved the adoption of a Constitution, which must be printed. There would have to be a legislature, laws would have to be enacted and must be printed. Legal and official forms would be required. Those of New Hampshire or New York would not do. Aside and apart from the considerable influence of self-respect and pride, the inexorable requirements of their situation compelled the leaders of the newly proclaimed State of Vermont to regard a printing establishment as a prime necessity.

It was not easy to find a competent printer with the necessary equipment who was willing to take the risks inseparable from setting up in business in a region so sparsely populated and politically so unsettled. Early in 1778 Eleazar Wheelock, president of Dartmouth College, persuaded Judah Paddock Spooner and Alden Spooner, two brothers, to set up a printing house at Dresden, near Hanover where the college was situated. These two young men had learned their trade with Timothy Green, State Printer of Connecticut, at New London. After finishing their apprenticeship with Green, toward the end of 1773, they joined with a nephew of the latter — also named Timothy Green — and established a printery at Norwich. There President Wheelock became acquainted with them.

It has puzzled many people to find that the history of printing in Vermont begins with the founding of a press in New Hampshire; that nearly every list of Vermont imprints begins with the productions of a

New Hampshire press, with items that are also otherwise classified as New Hampshire imprints. The explanation is not difficult to make or to understand. When the legislature of Vermont met in adjourned session at Bennington, June 4, 1778, it had before it the results of a referendum vote, one of the earliest uses of the political referendum in this country. At the session held at Windsor, in March, the legislature considered the request of sixteen towns on the east side of the Connecticut river, belonging to New Hampshire, to be permitted to unite with the new State of Vermont. The legislators voted that this matter "be laid before the people of this State, at large, for their consideration and determination." In the referendum thirty-seven Vermont towns voted in favor of the proposed union and twelve towns voted against it. In accordance with that result, the legislature voted, on June 11, 1778, to incorporate the sixteen New Hampshire towns into the State of Vermont. Dresden thus became a Vermont town from the point of view of Vermont, no matter how New Hampshire might regard the matter. It was "Dresden, Vermont."

President Wheelock and other officials of the corporation of Dartmouth College were the principal instigators and leaders of the movement to separate the sixteen towns from New Hampshire and unite them to Vermont. Discussion of their motives would take us too far afield. Political aspirations were not without influence. Expectation that a close association of the college corporation with the government of a new state, which had immense tracts of land to grant, would be of great economic advantage to the college was a natural one and as honorable as it was natural. Moreover, President Wheelock was piqued and nursing a resentment against President Weare, of New Hampshire, for what he regarded as a slight.

New Hampshire had allotted to Dartmouth College jurisdiction over a territory three miles square, part of the town of Hanover, and had made Wheelock a magistrate with authority in that territory. Wheelock insistently demanded that the territory allotted to the college corporation, and subject to the authority of its president, by virtue of his office, should be incorporated under the name Dresden, as an independent town, separate and distinct from Hanover. This President Weare would not assent to. It is significant that four days after voting to ratify the popular referendum by admitting the New Hampshire towns, the Vermont legislature voted to act favorably upon a petition presented by Wheelock, and "to take the incorporated university of Dartmouth, under the patronage of this State." At the same time it was

voted to commission President Wheelock as a Justice of the Peace for Dresden, and to give the trustees of the "Colledge" the power to appoint "an assistant Justice to the Rev'd Eleazar Wheelock, D.D."

New Hampshire never acknowledged the existence of the town of Dresden. It denied the request of petitioners to incorporate a town by that name. Except by the act passed by the Vermont legislature, the existence of Dresden was never officially acknowledged. It is clear that when he induced the two Spooners to settle in Dresden, Wheelock regarded himself as a citizen of Vermont and Dresden as a Vermont town. That later on Vermont relinquished all claims to jurisdiction and sovereignty over the New Hampshire towns on the east bank of the Connecticut, thereby leaving Dresden to revert to its former status as part of Hanover, does not destroy the fact that when, on October 10, 1778, the Vermont legislature voted "that Judah Paddock and Alden Spooner be, and are hereby, appointed Printers for the General Assembly of this State," it was the understanding of the printers and of the legislators, that the printing office in Dresden was within the State of Vermont.

Miss Cooley, in her admirable monograph, *Vermont Imprints Before 1800*, expresses doubt that Judah Paddock Spooner actually accompanied his brother Alden, to Dresden. With deference to a careful scholar, I believe that the doubt is without justification in fact. Not only do the legislative records prove that the state printing was awarded to the two brothers, jointly, and not to Alden by himself, but almost one-half of the Dresden imprints, including most of the larger books and pamphlets, bear the firm name of the two brothers. The fact that sometimes the name of Alden Spooner appears alone upon some of the Dresden imprints is readily capable of more probable explanations. If Judah Paddock Spooner's creditors were menacing or troublesome at a particular time, the omission of his name, or that of a firm in which he was a partner, and the use of his brother's name, as sole proprietor, might serve to prevent the attachment for debt of an entire edition. No one who is familiar with the records of our early printers and manufacturers will find it difficult to understand the resort to such a device.

By the end of 1778 Vermont was ready to disavow the annexation of the New Hampshire towns. The question arose whether the printing office could be removed to Westminster, or Windsor, or some other convenient place in Vermont. There was considerable correspondence on the subject, which was laid before the legislature at its adjourned session, held at Bennington, in February, 1779. On June third the

Governor and Council, in session at Windsor, appointed a committee to adjust accounts with Alden Spooner, who was terminating his share in the arrangement with the State of Vermont. The last of the thirty-two Dresden listed imprints to bear a date — No. 31 — was a broadside issued by order of the Governor and Council on June 7, 1779.

The thirty-two imprints — of one of which no copy has ever been found — represent, so far as is known, practically the entire corpus of the production of the first Vermont printing establishment. Its work holds an important place in our history. Among the books and pamphlets printed by the Spooners at their Dresden press are some of the most important works to which every Vermont historian must turn. Such a work as Ethan Allen's *Vindication of the Opposition of the Inhabitants of Vermont to the Government of New York* cannot be regarded as anything less than one of the cornerstones of the historical literature of the state. Similarly, such a volume as the *Acts and Laws of the State of Vermont in America* is indispensable to the historian.

No one can examine the productions of this pioneer printing establishment without acquiring a genuine respect for the craftsmanship displayed. We may not speak of it as exceptional typography, but it is undeniably sound craftsmanship. The work is equal to the average of the best of the New England printing offices of the period. The Spooners were competent craftsmen, as might be expected of men who had learned their trade under Timothy Green the elder. Looking over a number of books and pamphlets printed by them at Dresden, I am profoundly impressed by the excellence of the proof-reading. The typical New England printer of the eighteenth century must have been, in some respects at least, superior in education to most of his neighbors, even the clergy. I am more than ordinarily familiar with the writing and orthography of most of the leaders of early Vermont, especially of our great pamphleteers, Ethan and Ira Allen. Their manuscripts show that their spelling was eccentric, to state the matter mildly. The superior showing made by the printed version of their work must be credited to the printers.

II

The second chapter of the history of early Vermont printing begins with the work of Judah Paddock Spooner and Timothy Green, at Westminster, toward the end of 1780. It is evident from the official records that the leaders of the state were most reluctant to lose the

services of Alden Spooner. In view of his long and distinguished subsequent public career in Vermont, we are justified in assuming that he possessed the confidence of the officials of the struggling state. They made extraordinary efforts to retain him as State Printer.

The importance of having the State Printer settled within the limits of the state had become an obsession, like the *myth* of a cult. The legislature meeting at Manchester adopted a resolution on October 27th, 1779, setting forth that "it is absolutely necessary that a printing office be erected within the limits of this State, to print the laws that are or may be enacted by the legislature from time to time; to publish a Newspaper under the Signature of this State; and to do other incidental business." The resolution named a committee of three "to procure a printer for the purpose aforesaid." The committee was "impowered to wait on Mr. Alden Spooner printer to this State now at Dartmouth Colledge, and give him the Offer of continuing printer to this State provided he will remove his press to Westminster without loss of time." In the event of Spooner's refusal of the offer, or his failure to move to Westminster "without loss of time" the committee was to make arrangements with some other printer. Later in the day another resolution was passed to the effect that the State would pay Alden Spooner the sum of three hundred pounds "if he will settle and remove his press to Westminster according to a Resolution of this House passed this day."

Spooner dallied. For the time he preferred to remain in close proximity to the college. He did not refuse the offer, but neither did he move to Westminster. So we find the legislature once more grappling with the problem at the adjourned session held at Westminster in March, 1780. On March sixteenth the Assembly voted to request the Governor and Council "to obtain a printer to settle within this State." Owing to the fact that several pages are missing from the records at this point, we do not know precisely what measures it took to carry out the will of the legislature. We infer that a committee was appointed, of which committee Stephen Row Bradley was a member. At all events, when the Governor and Council met at Bennington, on August 18, 1780, it had before it for consideration a report from Bradley with the draft of an agreement between the State of Vermont and Timothy Green, the State Printer of Connecticut. Green undertook to furnish his son-in-law, Judah P. Spooner, and his son, Timothy Green — the third printer of that name — with type and other equipment for a printing office at Westminster, and to assume certain financial obligations provided that the two men, as co-partners, be made official printers to the

State of Vermont, and assured of full state patronage, as well as of the financial help that had been offered to Alden Spooner. In effect, the proposed agreement simply substituted the names of Judah P. Spooner and Timothy Green for that of Alden Spooner.

The proposed agreement was accepted by the Governor and Council. Ezra Stiles, a prominent citizen of Westminster, was instructed to proceed immediately to New London to notify Green of the official ratification of the agreement, and to "facilitate as much as possible the moving of the Types and other apparatus for the purposes of Printing agreeable to said agreement." Stiles, son of Dr. Ezra Stiles, of Yale, performed his mission promptly and in a few weeks the printing office of Spooner and Green, State Printers, was opened at Westminster.

The earliest known example of the work of Spooner and Green is the pamphlet, *Acts and Laws, passed by the General Assembly of the representatives of the Freemen of the State of Vermont, at their session at Bennington, October, 1780*. This issued from the press toward the end of November, 1780. Soon afterward there appeared the first issue of a newspaper, *The Vermont Gazette, or Green Mountain Postboy*. Its appearance was an important event in the history of Vermont.

Although most of our historical writers have given February 12, 1781, as the date of the first appearance of this first Vermont newspaper, I am convinced that the actual date was some six weeks earlier. *The Vermont Almanac and Register for 1796*, edited by Samuel Williams, states that the first issue of the newspaper was dated December 14, 1780. It is a sound rule that positive statements by contemporary chroniclers must be accepted unless there is unquestionable evidence that the statements are erroneous. There is no such evidence in this case. The authority of Samuel Williams is not to be denied, and upon other matters concerning which tests have been possible his almanac has been found to be generally accurate.

The confusion upon this point arises from the fact that the earliest copy of the paper known to exist bears the legend, "Vol. I, No. 8, April 2, 1781." Upon the assumption that the paper was a weekly from the beginning, and regularly issued, the first issue would have appeared on February 12, 1781, of course. But we do not know that it was issued weekly at first, or that it was issued regularly. The definite statement in the almanac that the first issue was dated Thursday, December 14, 1780, ought, I think, to be accepted as authoritative.

Soon after starting their press at Westminster, Judah P. Spooner and Timothy Green found themselves in grave trouble. They were

charged with forgery and issuing counterfeit currency. The circumstances were as follows: At the April session of the General Assembly an act was passed authorizing the issuance of paper currency, bills of credit of the State, amounting to 25,155 pounds, and making counterfeiting of those bills of credit a capital crime. The bills were to be printed under the inspection of Mathew Lyon, Edward Harris and Ezra Stiles, and were to be delivered to "Honorable John Fassett, Ebenezer Walbridge, and Thomas Porter, Esquires, a committee for signing and numbering said bills." The work of printing the bills was given to Spooner and Green.

On June 13, 1781, Thomas Porter and Colonel Ebenezer Walbridge appeared before the Governor and Council and charged that Judah P. Spooner, Timothy Green, Samuel Avery and Ezra Stiles had conspired to defraud the state by issuing unauthorized, and therefore counterfeit, bills. On the following day Walbridge and Porter testified under oath that a bill for forty shillings had been received from one Martin bearing signatures purporting to be theirs, but which were in fact forgeries. Daniel Martin, of Putney, who represented that town in the General Assembly, was known to be a speculator in paper currencies, and was suspected of being connected with an extensive ring of counterfeiters. The four men named were placed under arrest. Spooner and Green were apprehended without difficulty at the printing office, but there was some fear that Avery and Stiles would try to escape, for the Governor and Council issued an order to the sheriff to "take to your assistance three faithful men, with Arms and Ammunitions, as soon as this shall come to your hand, and proceed to some narrow passing on the road on the east Mountain that leads to Woodford, and place your Guard at a proper distance from the Road so as to discover all persons who may pass and to Stop and to take into Custody all you shall find passing to the Eastward, so as not to be discovered, till this Evening, then to return them to Bennington. You will take Special care not to discover yourselves to any who may be passing to the Westward." During the day Avery and Stiles were "Examined and Liberated for the present." On the eighteenth of June Spooner was examined together with one John Gould, a resident of Westminster, whose name had not previously been brought into the case. Both were permitted to go at liberty upon their own recognizance.

A joint committee of the General Assembly and the Governor and Council was appointed to make a searching inquiry into the entire matter. The joint committee engaged the services of Paul Spooner and

John Fassett to assist it in conducting the investigation, in the course of which a man named Chafee and a boy employed in the printing office, confessed to the crime. The boy purloined the bills and Chafee forged the numbers and signatures.

Spooner and Green were thus completely vindicated and the charges against them were withdrawn. The incident is of interest because of the light it throws upon one aspect of the early history of the printing industry in New England that has received slight attention and is little understood. Throughout New England counterfeiting of the paper currency of the states was a serious problem. The first case of the kind in Vermont affords an admirable illustration of the ease with which counterfeiting was done at the time.

In addition to the paper currency, Spooner and Green printed the Acts and Laws of the State, and various broadsides. Miss Cooley lists twelve imprints in addition to the copy of the newspaper already referred to. Beginning with February, 1782, and continuing to mid-August, the name of Judah P. Spooner alone appears upon the half-dozen known imprints. Green had become discouraged and withdrawn.

During all this time Alden Spooner continued in business in Dresden, no longer regarded as belonging to Vermont. He used the old press that had been used by Stephen Daye at Cambridge, from 1639 to 1649, and later by Samuel Green. This historic press, the first to be used in the United States, was later used by Isaac Eddy, at Wethersfield. It is now one of the most highly prized possessions of the Vermont Historical Society.

Even if the printing office at Westminster had flourished to the full extent of the hopes and expectations that attended its birth, it was inevitable that a demand should arise for another printing office at Bennington, which was in many ways a more important center. There was constant ill feeling between the two towns, largely because of the fact that so many of the inhabitants of Westminster did not share the bitter antagonism of the Bennington people toward New York. But the fact was that Judah P. Spooner was having a hard time of it at Westminster, and finding it difficult to continue. On the last of February, 1782, the legislature elected a committee of three "to Super Intend the press and supply the same."

The instructions to this committee, dated March 1st, 1782, direct them "to Examine into the Cause why the printing office has not answered the purposes Expected, and to Engage some Suitable person or

persons in the vicinity of Westminster to Supply every Material for the said press on as reasonable conditions as can be obtained, and to engage some suitable post rider or riders to Circulate & distribute the public acts & news papers through the several Towns in the State. And if you cannot engage the person or persons that answer that purpose you are hereby authorized & directed with the Consent of the proprietors to remove said Office with the Materials to Bennington on this States Cost if any person will Engage to Supply the Materials at that place for the purpose aforesaid. And if the proprietors refuse to accede to these terms & will not Engage to carry on said business punctually and with dispatch, you are hereby directed to dismiss him & procure an other printer, that will answer the purposes expected, and make returns to the Governor & Council of your doings as soon as may be."

Partly due to the efforts of this committee, and partly to independent efforts made by leading Bennington citizens, Anthony Haswell came to Vermont from Springfield, Massachusetts. He was one of the numerous printers who served their apprenticeship under Isiah Thomas. In Springfield he was in partnership with Elijah Babcock under the firm name of Babcock and Haswell. Some of the publications bearing this Springfield imprint are notably fine examples of eighteenth-century printing. An edition of Goldsmith's *Deserted Village* bears favorable comparison with the best work of the period, whether American or English. Babcock and Haswell, in addition to doing general printing, published a newspaper, the *Massachusetts Gazette and General Advertiser*. Their capital was pitifully inadequate and they were staggering under a load that was far too heavy for them.

According to a family tradition Isiah Thomas both suggested to the Vermont committee that Haswell was just the man they needed to establish a new press at Bennington, and advised his former apprentice to accept the offer. Haswell accepted the offer and came to Bennington during the first days of May, 1783, bringing with him David Russell, as partner. On the fifth of June, 1783, appeared the first issue of *The Vermont Gazette or Freemen's Depository*, the second newspaper to be established in Vermont. For thirty-three years Anthony Haswell labored in Bennington as printer and editor, being continuously so engaged until his death in 1816. He held a unique place in the community. No other individual contributed more to the development of the State of Vermont.

As an inducement to him to settle in Bennington, the committee had assured Haswell that he would receive "the patronage of the State."

Haswell understood this to mean that he was to be given a monopoly of official printing for the state. It is probable that the committee understood the matter in the same way. However, Alden Spooner, still in Dresden, had also been approached and, in August, 1783, he set up his printing press at Windsor, much to Haswell's consternation. Spooner received orders for a good deal of state printing, and Haswell felt that he was being treated unfairly. In addition to the fear of the effects of strong competition, Haswell regarded himself as the victim of a breach of faith by the state. The leaders of the government desired to fulfill their obligations to Haswell, and to deal justly with him. At the same time, they regarded the establishment of a second printing office in the state as desirable and beneficial to the state. It was by way of doing justice to Haswell that in March, 1784, an act was passed by the General Assembly, and concurred in by the Governor and Council, providing for the establishment of postoffices in Vermont, and making Anthony Haswell "Postmaster General within and for the State of Vermont."

While the actual income directly received from his position as Postmaster General — which carried with it a monopoly of employment of post riders and the business of carrying the mails — was small, the advantages derived therefrom were of considerable importance to Haswell and his partner. The post riders constituted the chief source of communication between the towns. They not only brought news to Bennington, but through them the Bennington newspaper was largely circulated through the settled parts of the state. The post riders also brought orders for printing from other towns. Because the printing for the state constituted the most profitable part of their business, the fact that it was only a share, and not the monopoly originally expected, remained a source of grievance on the part of Haswell and his partner. From the first day to October, 1790, when Haswell and Russell dissolved partnership, the career of the Bennington printing concern was one of hard struggle and uncertainty.

Although their nearness to Albany and Troy enabled Haswell and his partner to secure paper, as a rule, with less difficulty than was experienced by other early Vermont printers, that was one of their most difficult problems. It led to the establishment of a paper mill in Bennington in 1786, the first in Vermont. This enterprise, like many others in that early period, was established through the proceeds of a public lottery. In 1784, Haswell and Russell published the first of a series of

almanacs. In fact, they published two different almanacs for the year 1785 — *An Astronomical Diary or Almanac* by Samuel Ellsworth, and *The Vermont Almanac*, by Eliakim Perry, Jr. This was a most unusual proceeding, the reason for which is not known.

In June, 1792, Haswell established a second printing office, at the southwest angle of Court House Square, in Rutland. This was in addition to his Bennington office, where he was printing pamphlets and books and issuing his newspaper every week. His ambitious branching out in Rutland was a direct result of the strategic advantages derived from his position as Postmaster General. From June to September, 1792, Haswell printed a second newspaper in Rutland, *The Herald of Vermont; or Rutland Courier*. Connected with the printing office, in the same building, or adjoining it, was a distillery. The latter was conducted by a man named Rogers. In September, 1792, both the distillery and the printing office were completely destroyed by fire. There is a modern note in the record of the events immediately succeeding the fire. Haswell and Rogers each applied to the State Government for a loan from the public funds to enable them to rebuild and resume business. The Governor and Council in committee resolved not to lend public money for private use. Some days later, the General Assembly passed special legislation permitting both Haswell and Rogers to raise by a public lottery the sums necessary to enable them to recoup their losses. Rogers was authorized to raise twelve hundred pounds by this method while Haswell was authorized to raise only two hundred pounds. The explanation of the difference is that the buildings belonged to Rogers.

In a sketch like this it is not possible to follow in detail the progress of any one of the pioneer printers. The simplest story of the vicissitudes of the *Vermont Gazette* would require more space than is available for this entire chapter. When we survey the record of the work turned out by Haswell, it is impossible not to be impressed by the great range and variety of it. It embraces two weekly newspapers, three monthly magazines and well over two hundred pamphlets and books, varying from small pamphlets of a few pages to octavos of from three to four hundred and seventy-five pages, or so. As a public speaker, Haswell was popular locally and in great demand. He wrote a tremendous amount of verse of poor quality, including numerous ballads that were popular in their day. He was a most extraordinary figure, this pioneer Vermont printer.

III

The years 1790–1795 were characterized by considerable expansion and progress in Vermont. The number of printing establishments that arose during that time was part of a general movement of progress in the state. Three months after Haswell opened his printing office in Bennington, Alden Spooner, who had given up his business at Dresden, associated himself with another printer, George Hough, and set up a printing office in Windsor, where they established a newspaper — the third in the State — *The Vermont Journal and the Universal Advertiser*. The partnership of Spooner and Hough continued for about six years. Then, in 1789, the partnership was dissolved, Hough moved to Concord, New Hampshire, and Spooner continued the Windsor printing office by himself. In 1792 he changed the name of the newspaper to *Spooner's Vermont Journal*, and some years later changed it to *Vermont Journal*. This newspaper is still published, the oldest in the State.

There was still rivalry between Anthony Haswell and Alden Spooner. The state printing continued to be the subject of vexation and dissatisfaction. In October, 1790, the General Assembly enacted a law providing that, "the several laws and other business of the State, shall be printed by Messrs. Haswell and Russell of Bennington on the West Side and Mr. Spooner on the east side of the mountain, alternately as the General Assembly shall be holden on the different sides of the mountain. Provided, They will do the same on as reasonable terms as can be procured from other printers."

In 1791, James Reed Hutchins and John Spooner, the latter believed to be a nephew of Alden Spooner, opened another printing office in Windsor. This firm was awarded the state printing in 1792, having underbid Alden Spooner. This early example of price cutting in the printing business is characterized by a familiar feature. The young men got the business, but it ruined them. They failed toward the end of 1792, having lost what money they had in carrying out their contract with the state. However, the menace of ruinous competition and price cutting brought Alden Spooner and Anthony Haswell together in a joint effort to protect their mutual interests. They presented a petition to the General Assembly in 1792, setting forth that they had been forced to print for the state at a loss. They likewise requested that they be appointed as state printers for a ten-year period, dividing the business according to the old plan.

In 1793, James Lyon, eldest son of the famous and redoubtable Mathew Lyon, established a printing office in Rutland and began the publication of a newspaper, the *Farmer's Library, or Vermont Political and Historical Register*, the fourth in Vermont. Lyon published this paper from April, 1793, to the end of November, 1794, when he sold it to Judge Samuel Williams, of Rutland, and another man by the same name, the Reverend Samuel Williams, formerly professor of Mathematics and Natural Philosophy, at Harvard College, before coming to Rutland to act as the pastor of the church there. He was the editor of the paper, the name of which was changed to the *Rutland Herald*, under which name it is still published. In 1795–1796 Williams edited and published a monthly periodical, *The Rural Magazine: or Vermont Repository*. By that time the Williamses had become publishers merely, the printing business having been taken over by a man named Kirkaldie.

In the year 1793, yet another printing office was established in Vermont. Nathaniel Coverly, who had worked as a printer in Salem, Massachusetts, came to Newbury, Vermont, and established a printing office together with a general store. Coverly printed a number of books and pamphlets between 1793 and the end of 1797. Surviving examples of his work show that he was a competent printer, the equal of most of his Vermont contemporaries. The small number of his imprints probably indicates that his business as printer was small, and that the store occupied the greater part of his time and attention. In 1796 and 1797 Coverly printed and published a weekly newspaper, *The Orange Nightingale, and Newbury Morning Star*. He began publishing the paper in May, 1796, and continued it to September, 1797.

In 1795 a printing office was established in Fair Haven. Judah P. Spooner, formerly of Westminster, moved to Fair Haven either late in 1794 or early in 1795, probably at the suggestion of Mathew Lyon. Spooner became associated with another printer, named William Hennessey. Owing to the meagreness of the records and the fact that there are no known copies of the early issues of the newspaper they published, the story of this press is vague and obscure. It seems certain, however, that Spooner started in business at Fair Haven with some support from Mathew Lyon and his son, James Lyon, who had so recently sold his printing business in Rutland. Whether either Hennessey or Lyon, or both of them were in actual partnership with Spooner is not known.

This much is certain, for it is set forth by Spooner in an appeal to the General Assembly for assistance, made at its October session, 1795:

For several months the printing business in Fair Haven had been conducted at a loss. One misfortune was the fact that printing had been done for the state at a loss, largely because of the depreciated currency. In July the publication of a weekly newspaper was begun, the name of the paper being *The Farmer's Library*. While the newspaper had "reached a respectable circulation," it was at a disadvantage because it did not enjoy a share of the state advertising. He appealed to have his paper placed on an equal footing with the other newspapers in the matter of advertising lands, publishing the laws, and so forth. I believe that *The Farmer's Library* was published for eighteen months, from July, 1795, to December, 1796. It is my impression that Hennessey withdrew some time during the first half of 1796 and that thereafter Spooner was sole proprietor. An address by Mathew Lyon before Aurora Lodge of Freemasons, in June, 1796, was printed in pamphlet form. The pamphlet bears the imprint, "Fairhaven, James Lyon, 1796." A juvenile spelling book, by William A. Stirling, bears the imprint, "Fairhaven: Printed and sold by Judah P. Spooner, 1796." I am satisfied that these publications came from different presses. Thereafter for some years Fair Haven had two rival printing offices. Books and pamphlets printed by Spooner bore his name, while those printed by Lyon bore his name and sometimes the name he had given his press — Voltaire's Head. In this James Lyon set a new style for Vermont. He was the first of our printers to adopt a name for his press.

The years 1796 and 1797 were marked by the establishment of other presses of considerable note and importance. Robert Donnelly and James Hill opened a printing office in Burlington early in 1796 and started to publish a weekly newspaper, the *Burlington Mercury*. From March to November of that year the two men were in partnership, but in November Hill retired and Donnelly became sole proprietor, continuing the paper until the close of the year 1799. The year 1797 saw the establishment of a printing office in Brattleboro, and the publication of that town's first newspaper. Thomas Dickman and Benjamin Smead were the proprietors during the first few months, Dickman soon withdrawing and leaving Smead to continue alone. Smead was a practical printer, and a good one. Dickman was, I believe, in business as a printer at Greenfield, Massachusetts, connected with the Brattleboro enterprise only as an investor. The paper was *The Federal Galaxy*.

Benjamin Smead carried on the publication of *The Federal Galaxy* until the early part of 1801, when he gave up the struggle and de-

parted for Dansville, New York. Smead made the *Galaxy* a powerful party organ. He distinguished himself by the virulence of his attacks upon the Jeffersonians, and upon his Bennington contemporary, Haswell, in trenchantly written editorials. Yet, strangely, after a couple of years spent in Dansville, he returned to Vermont and entered into partnership with his old enemy, Haswell, in Bennington. From references in letters by various members of the Haswell family, we gather that Smead and Haswell got along quite well, despite their political differences.

In 1797 Cornelius Sturtevant, Junior, Elias Sturtevant and Abijah Wilder established a printing office at Putney and started the publication of a newspaper, *The Argus*. The firm name, imprinted upon their publications, was Cornelius Sturtevant, jun. and Co. After a few months the partnership was dissolved by mutual agreement and Cornelius Sturtevant became sole proprietor. He continued to publish his paper, re-named *The Putney Argus*, until the beginning of the new century. Books and pamphlets bearing the Sturtevant imprint are scarce and much sought after.

In 1798 George and Robert Waite — with the aid of Samuel Chipman I think — opened a printing office in Vergennes and began the publication of a weekly newspaper, the *Vergennes Gazette*, which was violently anti-Jeffersonian. Its attacks upon such men as Mathew Lyon and Anthony Haswell were savage and bitter. At about the same time Farley and Goss opened their printing office at Peacham and began the publication of the *Green Mountain Patriot*, which they continued to publish there for almost nine years, until March, 1807.

As the eighteenth century ended, Vermont was quite well supplied with local printing offices and newspapers. The day of the old printer-editor, who frequently set up his articles as he mentally composed them, without troubling to write them first, was passing with the century. The new century was to see a rapid specialization of function, printers ceasing to be editors and editorial ranks recruited from outside the printing craft. Such figures as Alden Spooner, Benjamin Smead, Anthony Haswell and James Lyon can only be understood and appreciated when viewed against the background of the social conditions of their time. Long before they passed away, the four pioneer Vermont printers of the eighteenth century had come to be regarded as quaint survivals of a past age.

ARCHITECTURE AND HISTORY: "PRESERVATIONISM" AND "FUNCTIONALISM" IN VERMONT

By Earle Williams Newton

Librarian-Curator, Vermont Historical Society

Possibly it will be a far day before Vermont's characteristic farm homes, town halls, churches, and other structures that are associated with the state disappear, but we sometimes wonder. The covered bridge and the little red schoolhouse are becoming memories. The reasons for preserving them are often argued, but such discussions, as a rule, cut across the surface only. In this paper Mr. Newton penetrates to profounder reasons for a more alert attitude on the part of Vermonters and friends of Vermont who find in our traditional buildings evidence of a past that belongs characteristically to the state. We commend the paper to our readers. Editor.

Architecture is crystallized history. Not only does it represent the life of the past in visible and enduring form, but it also represents one of the most agreeable sides of man's creative activity. Furthermore, if we read a little between the lines, the buildings of former days tell us what manner of men and women lived in them. Indeed, some ancient structures are so invested with the lingering personality of their erstwhile occupants that it is well nigh impossible to dissociate the two.

But it is rather as a revelation of the social and domestic habits of our forebears that the story of architecture in Colonial America concerns us immediately at this point. As the naturalist can reconstruct the likeness of some extinct animal from a handful of bones or tell the age and aspect of a sea creature that once tenanted a now empty shell, so can the architectural historian discover much concerning the quality and mode of life of those who dwelt aforetime in the houses that form his theme. The indisputable evidence is there in bricks and stone, in timber and mortar, for us to read if we will.[1]

1. Eberlein, H. D., *Architecture of Colonial America*, New York, 1915, p. 1.

THE preservation of the traditional architecture of Vermont has long been a project near to the hearts of a small group of thoughtful people. In its 1931 Survey, for instance, the Vermont Commission on Country Life, through its Committee on Traditions and Ideals, strongly urged a program to accomplish this. Moreover, the observation was made that "it is entirely compatible with the idea of modern progress to preserve . . . the characteristic features associated with New England villages and farms."

Yet for surely fifty years these landmarks have been gradually disappearing. Fire has taken some. But a good many others have been torn down to make way for gas stations, or been "improved" by the addition of later-day excrescences. The lack of recognition of the value of preservationism may in part have been due to a failure to recognize the full compatibility of the old farmhouse with the contemporary scene. We shall have more to say of that later. But for the most part it has been due to an identification of preservationism with mere antiquarianism or an insipid sentimentalism.

It is true that many homes have been restored purely as patriotic or genealogical monuments — and it may even be that this has been the purpose in the majority of cases. But this is by no means the sole reason why it should be done. For old buildings are important *materials of history*.

Possibly historians have assisted in confusing the issue by placing an almost exclusive emphasis upon books and other products of the pen as the only sources for historical research. Yet we should know very little of many civilizations — as far back as the Egyptians and Babylonians, or as near to us as the American Indian — if we depended solely upon the written record. There is a distinct bond of sympathy between the archaeologist who digs out the material evidences of past cultures and the historian who attempts to utilize relics and materials of the last century or so to reconstruct the social and economic life of the era. The irony is that we are tearing down evidence of that material part of civilization which most adequately and permanently expresses its character — its architecture.

Architecture, indeed, is the "mother of the arts."[2] It is, moreover, "the art of making the content and the forms of a civilization coincide. . . . The buildings a civilization leaves behind it are documents which

2. Rathbun, S. H., *Background to Architecture*, New Haven, 1926, p. 1. Note, for instance, that sculpture and painting for the most part originated in the attempt to embellish architecture.

tell us the story of that civilization. Architecture is important as a means of expressing a people and of giving to them and to others a visible image of their aspirations."[3] These are not the words of a traditionalist, but of one of the most vocal exponents of modern functional building. If Eberlein, a historian and lover of the antiquarian in architecture, and Lescaze, a functionalist, can utter virtually the same thought, we may reasonably take this as an axiom for historians. Now we have not space here to debate the value of history. Most laymen as well as professionals will recognize the critical part that historical study plays in the assessment of and approach to current problems. Vastly extensive materials are necessary for an accurate picture of the past. Therefore, we injure only ourselves if through neglect or vandalism we allow important materials of history to disintegrate and disappear. *Historical societies which collect to preserve from destruction the written record must also act to conserve the evidential materials as well.* [*Italics mine. Ed.*]

Another importance which preservationism holds for the field of history lies in the realm of education. Whether from sentimentalism, idle curiosity, or genuine eagerness to learn, the general public is vastly more attracted by museums than by historical libraries. Apart from their research value, then, relics, both of arts and crafts, serve as an introduction to history, especially when they are organized in conjunction with literary material — broadsides, books, maps, etc. — to present a congruent picture, to tell a complete story.

There is no better way to tell the story of social and economic life than to reconstruct it in its original setting.[4] This has been magnificently realized at Williamsburg, Virginia, where the entire colonial capital is being rebuilt at a huge cost. How much better, however, it would have been if the original structures had never been allowed to disappear.

Granting, then, its value for history, is not this architecture outmoded for the Vermont of 1942? Listen again, for instance, to Lescaze:

> The modern architect . . . too, has studied the styles of the past, but only in order to develop his ability to recognize and to understand the method through which architectural excellence has been

3. Lescaze, William, *On Being an Architect*, New York (1942), pp. 22-23.

4. For an excellent discussion of this, see Coleman, Laurence Vail, *The Historic House Museum*, Washington, 1933.

The significance of visual education is only slowly dawning upon pedagogues. Certainly, however, the vast popularity of the picture magazines must serve in part to drive the lesson home.

> achieved, not in order to adapt the forms of a style. It is the spirit he follows, not the dead letter.
>
> He sees around him today all kinds of obsolete forms choking life. He wants to free it. To create the form for it — the form which will be right and beautiful — for that life which his fellow men and he himself live.[5]

Lescaze's vision of the architect's function in modern civilization is a stimulating one. "The process of the architect," he observes, "is almost always the same — to gather the facts, to analyze them, to organize them; and the intent of the architect is to interpret them architecturally and in so doing, if he is talented, to create real architecture, a true synthesis of the facts."[6] As such an interpreter he is vital, and has ever been so. However, Lescaze continues: "I am weary of hearing how fortunate [it was] for the old New England house that no architects were available, — only unexcelled master carpenters. But these carpenters had in their jeans plans and designs of English architects, which they did their best to copy with their simple means."[7]

What Lescaze says is true in part. But only in part. The building books of Asher Benjamin, for example, *were* largely derivative. Public structures done by the more important American builders were frequently close copies of English Georgian designs. But the vast majority of homes were built by their prospective occupants, or by a neighborhood carpenter, who was likely to be a wheelwright, cooper, or even shoemaker to boot. Frequently the frames were hewed out and raised by the town builder, and the balance furnished by the owner. In any event their pockets were likely quite empty of any architect's plans. They designed and built in a particular tradition, but this was early very much modified by the demands of environment. In fact, it was these homemade structures that most nearly approached the modern functional ideal.

Perhaps, also, this vigorous and stimulating critic has not fully studied "styles of the past," or he would not speak of colonial architecture as a unit. Apart from provincial diversity, there is at least a single division into periods — that of the genuinely colonial or medieval and that of the Georgian or Renaissance. Of course they merged, but at the height of the Georgian period, New England architecture was attempting to interpret a vastly different spirit than that embodied in the

5. Lescaze, *op. cit.*, p. 9.
6. *Ibid.*, p. 141.
7. *Ibid.*, p. 136.

earlier buildings. It is these latter which are the truly functional buildings of the past.

They represented, for the most part, an indigenous architecture arising out of the needs and limitations of men only modestly endowed with worldly goods and faced with the backbreaking task of making fields from forests. It was no wonder that the emphasis was a utilitarian one. The Frenchman, Brissot de Warville, noted of the New Englanders: "They think of the useful, before procuring to themselves the agreeable. They have no brilliant monuments, but they have neat and commodious churches, . . . good houses, . . . superb bridges, and excellent ships."[8]

This did not mean that the colonial temperament was artistically stunted, despite the Puritan inhibitions. It was rather redirected, both by Puritan disapproval of painting, music and the stage and by the urgent necessities of survival. As Fiske Kimball has observed, "Among a people with the vast material tasks of conquering the wilderness of a continent, mastering the riches of its soil, its forests, its waters and mountains, artistic expression takes chiefly the form of building, of architecture."[9]

It should be further pointed out that, after preliminary shelters of bark and thatch, the earliest settlers attempted to recreate the English manner of living in their buildings, as elsewhere. But closeness to the soil, climatic variations, and exigencies of materials necessitated adaptation. A healthy indigenous flavor characterized the evolving forms. The average agriculturist, who of course constituted the vast majority of the population, was never able and less inclined, as time went on, to follow subsequent variations of the basic English half-timbered house. The Georgian mode was imported and grew in favor among the wealthy, and was even reflected in elaborations of the older colonial models. For the most part, however, the farmer kept on building the highly functional story-and-a-half — occasionally two storied — central chimney house of uniform plan.

Thus it was that the basic type imported into Vermont was this one, though Georgian had long since conquered the seaboard. True, wealthy men in Bennington and other prosperous centers built mansions which smacked of the influence of Bulfinch, Benjamin, and even Adam. And although these latter still stand as the chief remaining ex-

8. Quoted in Jackson, Joseph, *Development of American Architecture*, Philadelphia, 1926, p. 8.

9. Kimball, Fiske, *American Architecture*, Indianapolis (1928), p. 13.

amples of early Vermont architecture, by far the greater majority were the simpler, earlier types, which, indeed, by their very multiplicity, if not their permanence, had the greater influence on subsequent rural building. Transoms were eliminated, eaves gradually rose to give additional space on the second story, and the early careful proportions, laid out by "rule," disappeared. But the one-and-a-half story type, with its central doorway flanked on each side by two windows, with its white clapboards and green shutters, has remained the basic Vermont farmhouse.[10] Furthermore, it has become an integral part of the land.

Certainly no architecture has been more tested from the viewpoint of function. Its very harmony with the countryside results from adaptation to the demands of the latter. Tested and evolved under like conditions in Massachusetts, it had already proven its worth by the time it was installed in Vermont.

Of course, it will be argued that vast changes in farming procedure have occurred since the evolution of this type. This is true, but they have not here altered the basic aspect of the countryside, or for the most part, the routine of farm life, as in the Middle West. Moreover, retention of a type of exterior architecture does not imply the necessity of hewing rigidly to old interiors. When the central chimney with its huge fireplaces disappeared in favor of stoves, certain rearrangements were made. New kitchen and bathroom facilities today require further shifts. The essential simplicity and adaptability of the type is no better illustrated than by its ability to retain its form and yet contain these requisite changes. For example, the huge old kitchen, frequently the center of family life with its roaring wood stove, is no longer practicable. At the same time, reduction in the size of families has frequently left unneeded the small downstairs bedrooms. The old kitchen, almost invariably in the wing and lacking a cellar, then becomes a summer playroom which can be closed off from the central portion of the house in the winter. One of the old bedrooms quickly becomes a modern, scientifically planned kitchen, in even so small an area, as in the author's "Cape Cod," as eight by eight. Another serves splendidly as a bath.

Now most Vermont farms, unfortunately, have not reached even this point of modernization. But it is indicative of the adaptability of

10. Even the Greek Revival, which produced a few temple-like homes in Castleton and Orwell and added a few pillars here and there, succeeded for the most part only in shifting the front door to the end of the house, so that its gable faced the visitor.

type that it stands ready to assume new form when an improved economic status of the farmer shall dictate the change.

So, basically, your author is in perfect sympathy with the functionalists. It is extremely unfortunate that outmoded types should be held over to inhibit man's shift to new functions. It is doubly distressing that many homes are today outmoded before occupied. This is particularly true in the cities. Indeed, the necessities of urban living, as against rural, have so changed even in Vermont that it is an impediment to social progress to attempt to graft the old types upon an industrial community. Again, I repeat, the character of the land and its use must determine the architecture utilized. For the Vermont rural scene the traditional types are not only aesthetically but functionally adequate. But for urban areas, even in Vermont, a new imperative has arisen, and it must not be ignored.

Let us develop an architecturally harmonious countryside. But let us also replan our industrial areas with an eye solely to their functional needs — light, space, air, efficient living with modern conveniences amid the intensity and concentration of the city. True adherence to this formula will certainly produce beauty for our urban building, as it did for our forefathers in their rural architecture.

The extreme backwardness of the contemporary building profession itself was cogently illustrated recently by an editorial in *Practical Builder*, entitled "Cape Cod or Crackpot." Possibly because it represents a highly de-centralized and backward industry, this magazine attempts through exaltation of the "colonial" types to preserve the inefficient board by board, nail by nail construction of the past. Ironically, however, the average "Cape Cod" appearing in its pages, as in the notorious lumberyard designs, bears little resemblance to the carefully proportioned, simple houses built by the early New Englanders. There is no necessary and irresolvable conflict between historic and modern types. It is equally possible to appreciate Herbert Wheaton Congdon's attractive volume, *Old Vermont Houses*, along with the latest issue of the *Architectural Forum*, which is devoted to the most futuristic sort of conceptions as to post-war homes.

A VERMONT BOOKSHELF
A DEPARTMENT

1. The Puritan and His Ministers

MINISTERIAL TRAINING IN EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY NEW ENGLAND. By Mary Latimer Gambrell. Columbia University Press, New York. 1937. $2.50.

The layman who pokes an inquisitive nose into theological polemics or any phase of religious controversy is likely to get that nose scorched. The endless controversies in New England involving doctrines, for instance, call for a specific knowledge which the ordinary reviewer does not possess, and he feels justified in dodging books which deal with such controversies. Yet, to refer to Vermont history, there is hardly a page of that history that does not show some effect of the rousing religious controversies of decades gone by; the feasts and the feuds cutting across village life and through regions and sometimes the state were stormy affairs; and the results are by no means entirely past, for within my own memory I can recall a case in which a minister of a certain Protestant denomination refused to have anything to do with a Universalist church in the same community. No student who knows present Vermont will argue that the imprints left by the old wrangling are gone; they may be going, but the echoes are certainly around us.

Rushing in where angels fear to tread, I do not hesitate to say that my own conviction is that such controversies, no matter how bitter they became or how destructive for the time being were the results, created a leavening process even as they do now. I doubt if the endless varieties of men, for the present anyway, can be led to accept one common theology although they may agree on the truth of the essential teachings of Christ. I know churches, for instance, in which I would flatly refuse to worship because I do not like the form of service even as I respect and like those who do. Neither do I like these stiff-backed pews that are a direct inheritance of pioneer days; not even a saint can be comfortable in them, and no one need argue the point with me; moreover, some of our churches impress me as being aired out only once a week. The only answer is tolerance for the other man's point of view.

In 1737, John Barnard, a Calvinist clergyman, said this of another clergyman: "I look upon him as too much of a gentleman and of too catholic a temper to cram his principles down another man's throat." Mr. Barnard had the right idea two hundred years ago, and we may, some day, catch up to him.

Behind the raging disputes were clergymen, and I have often wondered about their training and points of view. Doctor Gambrell has sketched in a book of about one hundred and seventy pages the main facets of the eighteenth-century education of our clergy. The study is by no means exhaustive, but it seems to be sound; and it furnishes many leads that other students may follow to interesting and valuable ends. For instance, the author feels that "It is a commonplace to observe that in the thinking of New England religion was a dominant factor, itself in turn dominated by the clergy." She adds that in turn "Congregational ideas of orthodoxy and clerical training followed the lengthening fingers of settlement as Americans, from the mid-century onward, went on to the conquest of a continent. In direct proportion, therefore, as the tenets of the founding fathers were preserved in New England, through the careful supervision of ministerial education, they flourished anew in every part of the frontier planted under the New England aegis." Vermont clergy had a part in extending such an influence, and sometime in the future the story will probably be told.

Doctor Gambrell begins by tracing the Puritan theories of clerical education and shows that the system was primarily founded upon what the Puritan had been accustomed to in England. First was the insistence that the clergy be educated, for grace does not make "wise teachers of natural drones or weak-headed lads." Harvard College in 1636 and Yale in 1701 were founded to carry on such an educational heritage. Then came the "Great Awakening" and new demands upon preparation for the ministry; and then came the blowing of what Doctor Gambrell calls the "winds of doctrine" and blow they did; New England was embarked on tossing waters. Here are some of the winds that disturbed the orthodox clergy and their followers: Arianism, Scinianism, Arminianism, Pelagianism, Antinomianism, and Enthusiasm; in addition, there were the troublesome Quakers, Roman Catholics, Anti-Paedobaptists. No wonder the average historian takes one look at such an array and confines his attention to other matters.

The early colleges were guardians of orthodoxy, but liberal winds were beginning to blow against the old Calvinist beliefs and doctrines; and in the author's chapter, "Collegiate Education," one of the best in

the book from a layman's point of view, we have the changes traced that led to the widening of study for the clergy and in turn wider religious conceptions for their congregations. The "Schools of the Prophets" followed invariably — private teaching by established clergymen much after the manner of the instruction to neophytes given by early physicians. Finally, we have the emergence of the theological seminary. After all is said and done, the record is a proud one, and as I read it, it is apparent that the early determination of the Puritans to establish an educated ministry was held to the end. As the stern early Calvinism was battered into more liberal forms, and new sects arrived, changes came, and the new sects did not have the high objectives of the older day. How much New England and many sections of the country owe to New England divines is another story.

2. *An Experiment in Writing a Local Survey-History*

"Know Your Town" — The 1940 Survey of Norwich, Vermont. The Norwich Woman's Club. Bessie S. Olds, President; Doris H. Bullock, Survey Director. Norwich, Vermont. 1942.

Every town and village in Vermont should have a published history: that proposition can be defended from many points of view, but I do not feel that it need be argued. The Vermont lad who wrote to the director of the Society's Edmunds Essay Contest that in studying his town's history he was finding "gold ore in his own backyard" was hitting close to one angle of the truth that needs no exposition. With each generation the history of the town, if not published, retreats farther into the past, growing dimmer with every year; and as it fades, not only information valuable in itself but also heroic phases of its early development also vanish; and young people find themselves living in a community in which the depth of loyalty is shallow as a puddle. A sense of depth of background is essential to the best types of citizenship.

Down in Norwich, Vermont, under the leadership of the Woman's Club, the problem of a readable, useful, workable historical survey of the town was solved through community coöperation; and any community with "git up and git" could follow this survey as a model. The full credit for this survey should go to the Woman's Club and those associated with it; but, as was true in this instance, the Vermont Historical Society is ready to assist other communities with advice through its librarian-curator, Mr. Newton, who gave generously of his time and experience in creating the excellent format and arrangement of this

survey; also, the Society will aid financially if the responsible organization is willing to hustle for funds itself.

The book of one hundred and one pages is so designed that the cuts are legible — many books of this type are too crowded and the pages too small — the margins are wide and the type leaded: all in all it is most attractive; and I am sure its typography could be used in similar surveys. The cover is flexible, carrying a pen and ink drawing of the Ledyard Bridge near Hanover, N. H.

The introduction explains the procedure used in compiling the book. After preliminary investigation of objectives and sources, a time chart was set up covering the studies to be made. During the three or four months spent in collecting materials, the responsible groups met to exchange and review notes. While the time chart was not followed as planned, in the end the material was ready for a "picture of contemporary life" in the town with a historical background supporting the "picture." The topics covered in the book itself are these: Population trends and economic changes, town government, educational opportunities, health programs, welfare activities, public buildings, town finances, roads, industries, recreation. The general plan seems to have worked out well with Norwich; other communities trying to plan a similar project might well consider other angles of treatment.

Few communities in Vermont, probably, have citizens with the initiative and the courage to undertake a "Know Your Town" survey, much less a history of their town. It is not a question of opinion; the record of such towns as do not have histories speaks for itself. Where, however, there are present the qualities mentioned, such a project as this at Norwich can be undertaken with assurance of worthwhile results that will have significance not only for the present but for the future.

3. *The Congregationalists and One Hundred and Eighty Years*

VERMONT CONGREGATIONAL CHURCHES: 1762–1942; HISTORICAL AND STATISTICAL. By John M. Comstock. The Cowles Press, Inc. St. Johnsbury, Vermont. 1942.

This is an impressive book — impressive in its material and also in the astonishing evidence of research that went into it. It helps to justify one's faith in man to ponder the loyalty, the zeal, the faithfulness that went into such a book. Living in this mad, realistic day when most men seem to be concerned with "getting theirs," and "theirs" means just what I intend it to mean, here is a work from which no one can possibly

expect — except the publishers and they deserve it — to get a penny of profit.

This study of the history of the Congregationalist churches was started, according to the foreword, by the Rev. Pliny H. White, who died in 1869; then the Rev. Azel W. Wild took over the labor, but his proposed volume was of such a size "as not to be readily salable" (see first paragraph) and the project of publishing it was abandoned. His manuscript has been deposited in the Congregational Library in Boston. Mr. Comstock then "took up the burden in the belief" that "a work of less ambitious scope would be welcomed by Congregationalists of his native state." I have been quoting from the 1914 foreword. In his 1942 note he says that he has nothing to add except that the expense of the 1942 edition has been met by the Rev. Chauncey A. Adams of Danville, Mr. C. H. Davis of St. Johnsbury, Mr. B. R. Demeritt of Waterbury, and Mr. Ralph E. Flanders of Springfield. I congratulate them and wish there were more Vermont citizens like them.

Mr. Comstock gives a brief review of Congregational history in the state, mentioning the first service held in Rockingham in 1704 — a Protestant service of course. Mass was said at Fort St. Anne on Isle La Motte as early as 1664 probably, so the Roman Catholic service antedates the Protestant. In 1941 the Vermont Congregational church reported a membership of 24,445. His review of the story of his church between the two dates seems complete even though in small compass. The reader gets a good picture of the situation and the forces that wrought change. In his review of organizations I was surprised to learn that "Consociations of Churches" were first formed in Windham and Rutland Counties in 1797 and '98. The author covers briefly the history of the "Vermont Domestic Missionary Society" — now the Congregational Home Missionary Society — formed in 1807. "Religious Periodicals" are sketched — one a weekly paper, *Vermont Chronicle*, first issued in 1826, running for seventy-five years, and closing in 1898 — a record probably in Vermont religious journalism. Aside from a paragraph on "Women's Organizations" (they probably deserve more) the balance of the book is statistical.

It is in the statistical section that one may browse with rewarding results. We have first the annual meetings of the state organization, beginning in 1795; then we have the towns, their churches and ministry. For instance, some of these early towns in certain periods were pretty wild communities, and the brief data show how the light of faith went out; other communities have come steadily down the years from pioneer

days, keeping their altars bravely alight. Mr. Comstock gives data on population to parallel the data on each church — a fine idea. There is also an alphabetical list of ministers with adequate information about them.

One turns from such a book with mixed feelings — respect for the care and thoroughness with which it has been done; wonder that the sum total of human effort that went into those long years of endeavor to make this a better world or a better Vermont has not succeeded to a greater degree. Devoted lives have here a line and a date — men who served an ideal gallantly and bravely, often failing but still serving. Yet I suppose we must remember that in His sight a thousand years are as a day, and in our moment of time we see only the unfinished record, not the final achievement.

D. J.

POSTSCRIPT

Ultimum verbum non dico

THIS is a paragraph of farewell. When in 1936 President Spargo of the Society asked me to assume the editorship of the *Proceedings*, I demurred, seeing no way in which in the midst of a busy professional life I could find the time to give to what should be the exacting work of editing a historical publication. He was persuasive then as he is now, and in addition I had grown weary myself of individuals who give lip service to a good cause and not much else; so I undertook the obligation on a temporary basis. That temporary basis has grown into six years in what can hardly be called a peaceful and leisurely period in mortal affairs. I have not at any time been able to make the *Proceedings* what it might have been, but I have appreciated and valued from the beginning the cordial and kindly attitude of the readers of the *Proceedings;* as a result, I do not regret the many hours assigned to the task and the thought, such as it was, given to the many editorial problems that have arisen. Kind comments that have reached me have been encouraging and useful. To borrow the poet Edwin Markham's phrase used in autographing his books, "I lift my hand to you."

Because I believe in the value of the *Proceedings*, not only for today but for tomorrow, I should hesitate to relinquish the editorship if I did not know that it was to go into competent hands. Our librarian-curator, Mr. Newton, has given ample evidence of his editorial skill and experience, and the publication should thrive under his direction. The Society has rich stores of manuscript material which should be published; and he is at headquarters where the various currents of historical interest in the state and elsewhere are in motion. I would ask in his behalf for the same consideration and coöperation so graciously and pleasantly shown me over the past six years.

* * * * *

Oldtime customs have a fascination all their own. Take, for instance, the drying of all apples. Does anyone do it anymore? Yet the fact remains that dried apple pies have a flavor all their own. Living out of

cans may be a sign of progressing civilization, but now and then I doubt it; and somewhere along the years we may find some wise folk returning to the older methods of preserving and using other foods besides apples. Some of the older customs have vanished for good reasons, but we should have a record of them anyway for the sake of the intrinsic values and interest in them. In the June–July issue, 1942, of *The Vermonter* Albert Tatro, an eighty-three year old Vermonter, not only describes methods of drying apples but also explains the old art of soap-making; and I believe some of my readers will be as interested in his explanation as I was. Here it is:

Another old time custom that has been relegated to the realm of lost arts, is soap making.

By the side of the road, on a little farm bordering our home place, lies a large flat stone some six inches thick. A groove was cut, forming a circle three feet in diameter, leading to a channel, cut a little deeper, at the lower side. That was a leach stone or drip, placed there by my wife's grandfather about 1808.

On that stone was placed a leach tub, not made with hands, but cut from some old monarch of the forest, that age had hollowed out through the space of years. Cut to the dimensions of an ordinary barrel, it was placed upright on the slightly tilted drip stone, then filled with wood ashes firmly tamped. Water was added from time to time, 'til lye began to run out slowly; then transferred to the large caldron kettle into which had been dumped the accumulation of refuse fat from the household: tallow, ham bones, in fact, everything; even pork rinds from sausage making, was grist for that mill. By the time the kettle was two-thirds full of lye, boiling began. We were never sure how long we would have to boil before a thick, ropy mass would appear. Sometimes two or three days would suffice, quite often it stretched to four or five before we had a "kittle of soap."

A soap that was glutinous, a soap that was semi-fluid; it wasn't white or pink or anything like any other soap, but a color all its own — a beautiful, dirty, brownish yellow. Was it sharp? Having an excess of alkali, sharp is the word. As a cleanser for doing utensils, family wash, house cleaning, and scrubbing floors, it has yet to be surpassed.

After sugaring was over, then came soap making, and I always thought it the beginning of spring's work.

In a diary of 1907 is recorded this item: "Apr. 26. Made soap today," and that day marked the end of soft soap on our farm. A soap factory ran on a small scale some five years in Randolph, buying ashes from the farmers, paying in soft soap.

The old leach tubs were in evidence several years longer in many a farm yard, mute testimony to the foresight, thrift and untiring industry that began with the clearing of the forest, the building of log cabins, and everything that pertains to what we New Englanders call Home.

More Vermonters and more visitors to the state should — when tires and gasoline are abundant again — take route 122 from Lyndonville to Glover. On the way they should linger in the village of Wheelock, one of the storied villages of the state. It is a mountain hamlet now — the population has dropped from 964 in 1810 to 412 in 1930 — but it has the unique status of supplying funds through rentals to Dartmouth College. Originally, the Vermont Assembly granted the town to Dartmouth College and a charity school for the support of the two educational institutions. The township, as I understand it, still pays a small sum to the college, and the college in turn grants full tuition scholarships to the promising sons of Wheelock. The town was the home of the parents of Frances Willard. On October 2, 1941, Willard Park was dedicated. At that time the veteran headmaster of the Lyndon Institute gave a brief address. Mr. Mathewson was born in Wheelock and has never lost his interest in his home village. His informal address is worthy of preservation.

Remarks of O. D. Mathewson at the Dedication of Willard Park, Wheelock, Vermont, on October second, 1941.

Mrs. Kidder, Mrs. Smith, Governor Wills, Ladies and Gentlemen:

What memories of boyhood days are awakened by this hilltop. From it, I used to call "Co-boss," hoping the cows would soon break through the fir trees on the hill side below.

On Sunday mornings my brother Hugh and I used to salt the sheep and cattle. If the morning was bright and warm, we would sit on this door step and wonder how anybody ever came to live here. Years later we found that it was on a road which ran from the Jonathan Tilton farm in the edge of Sutton to Wheelock Hollow. On this road lived Samuel Allen, Samuel Follett, Noah Halliday and the Willard family, not to mention three cellar holes along the way marking the sites of unknown homes.

The original Willard house was moved down from here and became the westerly end of the ell of the Elijah Willard home where I lived as a boy. We called it the "old shop," for it was used as a catch-all for all kinds of farm tools, not forgetting the grindstone of painful memories. The house contained a living-room or kitchen, a bedroom, a pantry, and an open attic. Other houses in the neighborhood were similar in size and arrangement.

The derivation of the name Willard is uncertain. Joseph Cook made it signify "willhard," while Frances Willard chose to think of it as meaning "one who wills."

The Willard family was distinguished in English and early American history and in the latest edition of *Who's Who in America* twelve Willards are mentioned.

The Willards in Wheelock, Sheffield, Sutton and neighboring communities are descendants of Major Simon Willard.

In the crypt of Canterbury Cathedral in England is a tablet bearing the following inscription:

In Memoriam
Major Simon Willard
Born 1604, died 1676

Exactly one hundred years before the Declaration of Independence. A Kentish Soldier and an early Pioneer in the settlement of the British Colony of New England, America, 1634.

He was made Commander-in-Chief of the British Forces against the hostile Indian tribes. He was distinguished in the Military, Legislative and Judicial service of the American Commonwealth until his death, aged 72.

Of Simon Willard's ancestors one was Provost of Canterbury 1218, and another was Baron of Cinque Ports 1377, and his descendants to the present day have held eminent positions in the United States.

Erected by Sylvester D. Willard, N.R.C.S. London, 1902.

Among the descendants of Simon Willard was the Rev. Elijah Willard of Harvard, Mass. He served for two years as a chaplain in the Revolutionary War and was a Baptist minister at Dublin, N. H., for forty years. He was married three times and the father of fourteen children, two of whom, Elijah Jr., and Oliver Atherton, came from Dublin to settle on this hilltop about 1805.

Oliver Willard had four children, the oldest of whom was Josiah Flint, father of Frances Elizabeth Willard. Josiah Flint married Mary Thompson, daughter of John and Mary Thompson Hill of North Danville, Vermont.

Frances Willard was born in Churchville, N. Y., Sept. 28, 1830, and died in New York City Feb. 18, 1898. This highly distinguished woman inherited noble traits of character from both parents. In early life she was a teacher and in 1871 became Dean of Women in Northwestern University. She resigned to become Secretary of the W.C.T.U., and in 1874 she was chosen its President, a position which she held until her death. In the management of its affairs she displayed great executive ability and a remarkable genius for organization.

In 1883 she founded the World's Christian Temperance Union and in 1888 became its President. She was an advocate of woman's suffrage and to this and her temperance work gave herself wholeheartedly. She was a logical and persuasive speaker; and her earnestness, sincerity and gracious manner added great weight to her messages.

In the rotunda of the capitol at Washington stands a marble statue of Miss Willard — a distinguished honor conferred upon only those most eminent in our national life.

As a boy I saw Miss Willard when she visited her cousin Elijah, who lived in Wheelock village just south of the old hotel. I well remember the impression which she made upon the people of the village as she and Elijah with his wife Betsey slowly meandered their way to the mineral spring. She was thoroughly democratic. I see her now in the old store standing at the end of the counter leaning upon a pile of unbleached cotton while she talked pleasantly with Frank Taylor, the storekeeper, about people whom they knew and of incidents

which had happened since she last visited Elijah. I recall one occasion when she spoke in the village church.

In 1897, Miss Willard, with Miss Anna Gordon, her secretary, had come to North Danville and planted trees about her mother's birthplace and organized an association to perpetuate her memory. While on this trip she also came to Wheelock, visiting this hilltop, site of the original Willard home, and planned for a similar celebration and organization the following year. Miss Willard's death prevented the realization of these plans until August 1899, when a similar programme was carried out in conformity with her wishes.

This hilltop, given in 1899 to a branch of the W.C.T.U. by Mr. and Mrs. W. J. Aldrich, was dedicated August 25, 1899 as a part of this programme. Miss Willard's secretary, Miss Anna Gordon, was present and read a poem. An excellent address "Looking Ahead" was given by Mrs. L. M. N. Stevens, National President of the W.C.T.U. Several pine trees were planted by Mr. Aldrich of which these two have survived. It was the feeling of all present that this hilltop should be forever known as "Willard Park."

Miss Willard was always deeply touched by the wholesome life of the Wheelock people with whom she came in contact.

In September 1897 she wrote Mrs. Aldrich — "Would you be kind enough to write me as many reasons as you can think of why you are never lonesome on that isolated farm without neighbors or children? I was much impressed by your good cheer and thought I could make your experience useful to other women — keeping your personality private if you so desired."

That Mrs. Aldrich replied is shown by Miss Willard's acknowledgment of it by a letter in which she says:

> *I thank you very much for your admirable letter and mean to have it in the UNION SIGNAL where it will do no end of good to "Our folks." Your outlook upon life is the only true one and it impressed me so much in the few minutes I saw you that I resolved to ask what was its inspiration.*
>
> *With all good wishes, believe me,*
>
> *Yours ever sincerely,*
>
> *(Signed) Frances Willard.*

We wish we could also read Mrs. Aldrich's reason why she was never lonesome, but since that is impossible, we must each supply our own reasons from our own hearts and experience.

The real significance of these letters is this: They show Miss Willard's desire to help others and her interest in common folk. Her outlook was forward toward a better day for all.

* * * * *

Now and then, some of us find ourselves involved in an argument as to the use of some old tool or utensil and as often we are puzzled by the names of such articles. William M. Lybrand, a summer visitor to Northfield, Vermont, and a better Vermonter than some would-be

Vermonters I know, has assembled a collection of about 250 oldtime hand tools and kitchen utensils. He spent several years gathering these articles from auctions, attics, cellars and country stores. Practically all are hand-made, and they display the ingenuity and workmanship of the pioneer blacksmith and carpenter and tool-maker. The collection contains items that range from carpenter's tools to the popular kitchen gadgets of the eighteenth century. The collection has now been placed permanently in one of the rooms of the municipal buildings in Northfield where the collection is open to examination. A reference book has been prepared which gives a short description of each article.

* * * * *

Mr. Newton's paper in this issue has point for Vermont. Something has been done in preserving some of the fine old churches which mean so much set against the green of our hills. The late Walter H. Crockett of blessed memory, once state historian and an active and valued member of our Society [I wish a fund could be set up in his memory, for he gave of strength, time, and ability to his state more generously than any Vermonter known to me] once told me that a large car stopped in front of the Chamber of Commerce office in Burlington, and the driver of the car came in to say that he had brought his family from North Dakota to show them a white steeple of a village church against the hills. There are other churches, that once served large congregations, now no longer used in the small villages where they stand as symbols of the eternal faith of men in things not made with hand. I hope that some of the covered bridges will be left for generations to see, for they too speak of sturdy men who built against the years. It is perfectly possible to keep an old inn true to its traditions and yet make it comfortable, but I do not know of an inn of this type now in the state. Many attempts to modernize a church, a house, an inn and other structures simply bring to the fore features of modernism that are sure to perish — that are vanishing because they are too superficial, catering to some fad, some fancy and not the deeper need of the sojourner or wayfarer. Vermont may grow wise with the years and seek to preserve more of the traditional phases of its buildings and other structures. It will under the right leadership.

* * * * *

In the December issue of 1938 I printed a letter written by Ruth Starbuck Wentworth — or so it seemed at the time. A copy of the

original was in a Vermont library, and the Vermont gentlewoman who gave the copy to the library wrote a note which gave a brief history of the letter. The giver was a lady long known in the community as a woman of integrity. The letter itself I considered a minor matter, merely interesting in itself and of no particular historical value. Alas and alack, I have printed in the *Proceedings* many an article which dealt with puzzling aspects of our Vermont history, but few and far between, to be frank, are those who have sought to help us solve the puzzles; but that letter! An avalanche followed — letters to Mr. John Spargo saying we were hoaxing the public; a controversy was started in a local paper in which the charge was again brought; and then the fun began. I planned to tell the story in this issue of the *Proceedings*, but space requirements forbade. In the next issue with the permission of Mr. Newton I plan to rehearse what is, I think, a highly illuminating tale of what happens when a minor point of biographical history hits the fancy and becomes a *cause célèbre* in the popular mind. Aside from its possible human interest, the tale will be intended to reveal some of the problems and intricacies of historical research — the complex and often weary road of tracing back through the years and through many minds a point or a fact that time and human nature have beclouded. Also, the story will settle forever any charge that the Vermont Historical Society through its editor intentionally was guilty of hoisting a hoax on its readers — only two individuals accuse us of it, as a matter of fact, and they had a common interest in doing so; but I intend to dispose of the matter. The story will be told under the title "Ruth Starbuck Wentworth — Girl or Ghost."

* * * * *

Probably we are to sacrifice under the pressure of war and its attendant evils and necessities many of the values that give meaning to civilization and progress, but a determined effort should be made to keep as many of those values from destruction as possible. A sense of the past is of enormous social value. Not only does an increasing knowledge of the past bring most of us to a faith that, in spite of tragic setbacks, the world does move in the right direction; it also brings us to a realization that change is inevitable, and perhaps to an understanding of some of its causes and directions. To keep the ancient faith and to watch for the new horizons is a challenge for all of us who see in a historical society a worthwhile means to such ends.

A. W. P.